

# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

September, 1947

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# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

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# A SURVEY OF PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN PHONOLOGY

By CARROLL E. REED

## A. PHONEMIC STRUCTURE

The following table is designed to illustrate the phonemes of Pennsylvania German<sup>1</sup> according to the general phonetic description of their principal allophones:<sup>2</sup>

Vowels:	front (unrounded)		central (unrounded)		back (rounded)	
high	i:	i			u:	u
mid	e:	e			o:	o
low				a	a:	
diphthongs			ai	au		oi
Consonants:	bilabial	labio-dental	dental	palato-velar <sup>a</sup>	velar	
sonorants						
nasals	m		n		ŋ	
liquid			l			
fricatives						
voiced	w		r	j	(r) <sup>a</sup>	
unvoiced		f	s, ʃ	x	h <sup>a</sup>	
stops						
strong (unvoiced)	p		t	k		
weak (unvoiced)	b		d	g		
assibilates			c, ɕ			

Thus may be seen what articulatory features are employed in distinguishing the phonemes of Pennsylvania German. The syllabic phonemes (vowels) are characterized by the pairs [i:, i], [e:, e], [a:, a], [o:, o], [u:, u]; the distinctive difference between them seems to be that of length, but an alternative analysis is also possible, since there is generally a difference in quality.<sup>4</sup>

The secondary phonemes of Pennsylvania German consist in features of stress and pitch, as well as those of juncture. These may

<sup>1</sup>As spoken in Lehigh County and the western half of Berks County: evidence based upon responses of forty-two informants in these areas to the questionnaire prepared and phonetically recorded by Dr. L. W. Seifert and the writer; henceforth this speech will be designated as *PaG*.

<sup>2</sup>For terminology, see: B. Bloch and G. L. Trager, *Outline of Linguistic Analysis* (Baltimore, Md., 1942), p. 45; their joint article, "The Syllabic Phonemes of English," *Language*, XVII, No. 3 (July-Sept., 1941); L. Bloomfield, *Language* (New York, 1933); N. S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Prague, 1939), pp. 60 ff.

<sup>3</sup>For more detailed description of articulation and positional variants, see sections B and C below.

<sup>4</sup>Dr. Seifert believes the pairs [i:, i], [e:, e], [o:, o], [u:, u] to be distinguished by tenseness and laxness respectively; if his assumption is accepted, the diacritic [:] should be interpreted as meaning "more tense," rather than "longer." This means that quality, not quantity, would be phonemically distinctive.

be analyzed as gradations in loudness, tone, and pause; as such, they are relative to one another, and within themselves, only in the particular linguistic form that may be under discussion. For present purposes, only those features which characterize individual words (minimal free forms), and their modifiers, will be included. Words will be set apart by external open juncture, here indicated by spaces; compounds manifesting internal open juncture will be thus indicated here by dashes; and close juncture will be implied when segmental phonemes follow one another without interruption. All words in Pennsylvania German have one syllable whose stress dominates that of all the rest. Ordinarily, this is the first syllable (sometimes the only syllable). The syllable of loudest stress may be indicated as having *high stress*. Many words have, in addition to syllables with high stress, also one or more syllables with slightly less, or *ordinary stress*, and many words have syllables with still less than ordinary stress, or *low stress*. Most words have at least one completely unstressed syllable. Whenever it is necessary to designate such degrees of stress, in order to indicate contrasts of secondary phonemes, the following symbols will be employed: [ ' ], [ ^ ], [ ˘ ], in that order, with no symbol at all being used to show complete lack of stress. In many words, however, no symbol will be necessary, since the initial syllable has high stress, by definition, and completely unstressed syllables need no symbol.

Pitch phonemes need not be discussed here, since they are encountered primarily in the analysis of syntactical relations.

## B. VOWELS

### 1. STRESSED VOWELS

#### PaG [i:]

PaG [i:] is a long, high-front vowel, derived from the following sources:

- (1) MHG *i* (a) in open syllables: *fi*: "cattle", *i:m* "honey-bee", *i:re* "her" (dat.); (b) in monosyllables ending in a single consonant, in which case open syllables occurred in the paradigm: *šdi:l* "handle", *fi:l* "much".
- (2) MHG *ü* (a) in open syllables: *i:wel* "evil", *di:r* "door", *ci:g* "chimney-flues".
- (3) MHG *ie* as in: *gri:we* "cracklings", *ši:r* "almost".
- (4) MHG *üe* as in: *fi:s* "feet", *bri:der* "brothers", *bi:xer* "books".

#### PaG [i]

PaG [i] is a short, high-front vowel, derived from the following sources:

- (1) MHG *i* in closed syllables: *kišd* "chest", *kind* "child", *brin̩d* "brings", *mídwōx* "Wednesday", *gibel* "tree-top", *hinix* "behind".

\* Three isolated informants in Lehigh County gave [der] instead of [di:r]; possibly [der] is derived from MHG *tür* ([di:r] is from MHG *türe*).

(2) MHG *ü* in closed syllables: *šdig* "piece", *mige* "flies", *šdrimb* "stockings".

(3) MHG *iu* in: *sifer* "drunkard".

(4) MHG *ie* in: *lixd* "light".

(5) MHG *üe* in: *mise* "(we) must".

#### PaG [e:]

PaG [e:] is a long, mid-front vowel, regularly lowered before [r] and derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ē* *ge:d* "goes", *ge:ne* "(we) go", *le:nd* "lends", *le:ne* "(we) lend", *šne:* "snow", *cá:wè:* "toothache".

(2) MHG *æ* *se:e* "to sow", *me:e* "to mow", *šmí:rkè:s* "cottage cheese", *ne:gšd* "nearest".

(3) MHG *e* in an open syllable: *šde:g* "staircase", *be:sem* "broom", *gé:lri:b* "carrot", *gelé:e* "lain".

(4) MHG *ö* in an open syllable: *e:l* "oil", *he:f* "yards".

(5) MHG *ei* *gle:der* "clothes", *de:l* "some (people)", *ge:šel* "lash", *šle:f* "drag" (n), *we:ce* "wheat", *rínsflè:š* "beef", *be:η* "leg", *gle:η/gle:ne* "small", *e:ns* "one".

(6) MHG *æ* *he:xer* "higher", *re:dle* "measles", *še:η* "beautiful", *be:s* "angry".

(7) MHG *ou* *ébelbè:m* "apple-trees", *le:fer* "loafer", *fre:d* "rejoices".

(8) Analogical umlaut, as in: *še:f* "sheep", *šwe:jer* "brothers-in-law", *ge:rde* "gardens" (with lengthening of MHG vowel before r plus dental).

#### PaG [e]

PaG [e] is a short, mid-front vowel. Some speakers have a lowered variety of this phoneme in a few words where [r] follows; others have a variant of the [a] phoneme in these words (cf. PaG [a]). PaG [e] is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *e* in closed syllables: *debix* "quilt", *fenšder* "window", *bed* "bed", *gese* "eaten", *nešd* "nest", *šbegmaus* "bat", *wegsel* "change", *hem* "shirt", *šwešder* "sister", *gešder* "yesterday", *heηšd* "stallion", *šwece* "talk".

(2) MHG *ö* in closed syllables: *kend* "(I) could", *keb* "heads", *reg* "coats", *beg* "bucks".

(3) MHG *ē* in: *wenig* "a little", *eršde* "first" (only in the north-western part of Lehigh County; see also PaG [a]).

(4) MHG *æ* in: *šenšd* "most beautiful".

(5) MHG *ei* in: *cwede* "second", *glener* "smaller", *glenšd* "smallest".

(6) MHG *æ* before r in: *wer* (NHG *wäre*), but only in the northwestern part of Lehigh County (see also PaG [a]).

(7) MHG *ü* before r in: *der* (MHG *tür*), used by a few speakers in Lehigh County (see also PaG [i:]).

(8) Analogical umlaut in: *negel* "nails", *fegel* "birds".

## PaG [a]

PaG [a] is a short, low-central vowel. It varies in some words before [r], among different speakers, between low-central and lower mid-front positions; some speakers have a different phoneme in a few of these words (see PaG [e]). Another variant of PaG [a] is the low-back, rounded vowel which occurs regularly before [ŋ], and before [m, n, l] and velars in various localities. PaG [a] is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *a* in closed syllables: šafd "works", waser "water", kac "cat", mar "mare", abel "apple", našd "branch", pare "pastor"; in an open syllable in: hab "(I) have"; before *r*: šdarig "strong"; before [ŋ]: šaŋg "closet", gaŋ "hall", laŋ "long"; before *m*: kamer "downstairs bedroom", samsdà:g "Saturday"; before *n*: pan "pan", gans "goose", hand "hand", man "man", land "country"; before *l*: ald "old", šdal "stall", sals "salt", šmals "lard", fale "to fall"; before velars: bagd "bakes", bage "cheek", sag "pocket", axd "heed"; in: fas "barrel" (occurring occasionally with the low-back, rounded vowel).

(2) MHG *e* before *r*: hac "heart", arn "harvest", faršde "heel", barig "mountain", mac "March", darem "intestine".

(3) MHG *i* before *r*: gšar "dishes", narjec "nowhere", karix "church".

(4) MHG *u* before *r*: darix "through", wašd "sausage".

(5) MHG *ü* before *r*: bašd, "brush".

(6) MHG *o* before *r*: dad "there", wélškàn "corn", marije "morning", kareb "basket".

(7) MHG *ie* before *r* in: fàcè: "fourteen", facix "forty".

(8) MHG *ei* in: cwancix "twenty".

(9) MHG *ē* before *r* in: aršde "first", except in the northwestern part of Lehigh County (see PaG [e]).

(10) MHG *æ* before *r* in: war "(German) wāre", except in the northwestern part of Lehigh County (see also PaG [e]).

(11) Modern English [a] and [æ] before *r* in such words as: kar "car", gared "attic".

## PaG [a:]

PaG [a:] is a long, low-back, rounded vowel, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *a* in open syllables: wa:je "wagon", ka:der "tom-cat", ha:ne "rooster", sa:je "to say", é:x-hà:s "squirrel", a:ŋ "on" (adv.), na:s "nose", la:d "coffin", sa:g "(I) say", šla:g "(I) strike"; in monosyllables ending in a single consonant, in which case open syllables occurred in the paradigm: ca:ŋ "tooth", gla:s "glass", celá:d "lettuce", hóxcix-dà:g "wedding day"; before MHG *rd/rt*: ga:rde "garden", wa:rde "wait", wá:rd-frà: "grass-widow".

(2) MHG *ā* before *r* in: *wa:re* "were", *wa:r* "was" (with analogy); in other cases, Lehigh County has [a:] and Berks County has [o:], thus Lehigh: *ha:r* "hair", *ja:r* "year", but Berks: *ho:r*, *jo:r*.

(3) MHG *ou* *ka:fe* "to buy", *a:g* "eye", *fra:* "wife", *gla:we* "to believe"; before [m], however, this [a:] is distinctly raised and, in some cases, seems to belong to the [o:] phoneme, e.g., *ábel-bà:m* "apple tree", *dra:m* "dream", and *ra:m* "cream".

#### PaG [o]

PaG [o] is a short, mid-back, rounded vowel, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *o* in closed syllables: *blóg-hàus* "log-house", *kobxe* "cup", *fol* "full", *ogs* "ox", *bog* "buck", *kob* "head", *rog* "coat", *blód-kèbix* "bald", *gnoxe* "bone", *wox* "week", *gsofe* "drunk"; and, in Berks County, *fogel* "bird" (Lehigh County has *fo:gel*).

(2) MHG *ā* in: *losd* "(he) lets", *hošd* "(you) have" (sg.), *hod* "(he) has", *noxber* "neighbor".

(3) MHG *ō* in: *hoxcix* "wedding".

#### PaG [o:]

PaG [o:] is a long, mid-back, rounded vowel, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ō* *ro:d* "red", *šdro:* "straw", *lo:s* "a sow", *bro:d* "bread", *ho:x* "high", *do:d* "dead", *šlo:sd* "(it) hails", *šlo:se* "hail-stones".

(2) MHG *o* in open syllables: *ho:f* "yard" (from disyllabic forms in the paradigm), *gflo:je* "flown"; in Lehigh County, also: *fo:gel* (but *fogel* in Berks County) "bird".<sup>6</sup>

(3) MHG *ā* *no:del* "needle", *šbô:d-jô:r* "autumn", *šo:f* "sheep", *šlo:fd* "(he) sleeps", *šwo:jer* "brother-in-law", *o:wed* "evening"; and, in Berks County, *ho:r* "hair", *jo:r* "year" (but Lehigh County: *ha:r*, *ja:r*).

#### PaG [u]

PaG [u] is a short, high-back, rounded vowel, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *u* in closed syllables:<sup>7</sup> *brune* "well", *fruxd* "grain", *sube* "soup", *gfunē* "found", *grûmbi:r* "potato", *šnúb-dû:x* "handkerchief", *šdrumb* "stocking", *sundâ:g* "Sunday", *kume* "(have) come", *genúme* "taken"; in an open syllable, when followed by -er: *buder* "butter", *cuger* "sugar".

(2) MHG *ū* in: *uf* "up".

(3) MHG *uo* in: *mus* "(he) must", *muder* "mother", *genúŋg* "enough".

<sup>6</sup> In the word [harigšd] "(you) obey," the PaG [a] is probably derived from MHG *o*; MHG has both *hochen* and *hörchen*.

<sup>7</sup> MHG dialect *ü*, *o*, *ö*, etc., are represented by PaG [hunix] in Berks County, but [hunix] in Lehigh County.

## PaG [u:]

PaG [u:] is a long, high-back, rounded vowel, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *uo* *blu:me* "flowers", *gu:d* "good", *blu:g* "plow", *blu:je* "to plow", *geblú:gd* "plowed", *ku:* "cow", *fu:s* "foot", *šu:* "shoe", *du:* "do", *bu:* "boy", *bru:der* "brother", *bu:x* "book", *u:med* "aftermath" (second crop).

(2) MHG *u* in open syllables: *cu:g* "flue", *su:η* "son"; most of Lehigh County has also: *šdu:b* "room" (Berks County has *šdub*).

(3) MHG *o* in open syllables after labials: *wu:nd* "(he) lives".

(4) MHG *ō* after labials: *wu:* "where", *bu:n* "bean".

## PaG [ai]

PaG [ai] is a diphthong, beginning low-central and ending mid-front. The first part of the diphthong is relatively longer than the second part. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ī* *lāin-dù:x* "sheet", *paif* "pipe", *ròsáine* "raisins", *caidiη* "newspaper", *laixd* "funeral", *haire* "wed", *áiηwàie* "consecrate", *šraiwe* "write", *drai* "three".

(2) MHG *iu* *fair* "fire", *laid* "people", *nai* "new", *šair* "barn", *mailer* "mouths", *fraind* "friends", *blaibd* "(he) stays", *haid* "today".

## PaG [au]

PaG [au] is a diphthong, beginning low-central and ending mid-back-round. The first part of the diphthong is longer than the second part. In the word *šbráu-sàg* "straw sack", the diphthong [au] occasionally appears as a monophthong [a:], usually with slight rounding; it is possible, in this case, that [a:] is to be analyzed as a phonemic variant, but it may also be a variant of the [a:] phoneme. PaG [au] is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ū* *haus* "house", *gaul* "horse", *blaum* "plum", *maul* "mouth", *braux* "(I) need", *mául-bì:re* "mulberries".

## PaG [oi]

PaG [oi] is a diphthong, beginning low mid-back-round and ending mid-front or high-front. The first part of the diphthong is longer than the second part. Examples are comparatively rare, most of them being found in monosyllabic words ending in the diphthong. PaG [oi] is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ou* *in: hoi* "hay".

(2) MHG *i* *in: roi* "row".

(3) MHG *ei* *in: moi* "May", *oi* "egg"; to these may be added *coier* "hand of a clock", which occurs only in Lehigh County (Berks County has *ce:xe*).



## 2. UNSTRESSED VOWELS

## PaG unstressed [i]

PaG [i] occurs in unstressed syllables as a high-central vowel and is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *i* in the following suffixes: *-ic*, *šde:nix* "stony", *caidix* "ripe", *wenix* "a little", *dregix* "muddy", *gridelix* "grouchy", *dašdix* "thirsty", *i:wrix* "remaining", *hunix* "honey"; *-inc*, *caidiŋ* "news-paper", *áuscèriŋ* "consumption", *áiŋwàiŋ* "consecration"; *-isch*, *nariš* "crazy"; *-zic*, *facix* "forty", *fufcix* "fifty"; and in: *bredix* "sermon".

(2) MHG *ī* in diminutive suffixes: *bobli* "baby", *boblin/boblixer* "babies", *glesli* "small glass", *saili* "baby pig"; and in: *hoxcix* "wedding".

(3) MHG *ie*, *iu* in completely unstressed forms of feminine and plural modifiers, i.e., pronouns and adjectives (nominative and accusative), e.g., *di ald mar* "the old mare", *di alde mare* "the old mares", *en gu:di arn* "a good harvest", *si:si blaume* "sweet plums", etc.

(4) A vowel which developed between MHG *r/l* and a velar: *šdarig* "strong", *barig* "mountain", *marig* "market", *arig* "awful", *narijec* "nowhere", *marije* "morning", *karix* "church", *milix* "milk".

(5) The [i]-suffix in English loan-words, such as: *da:di* "father", *mami* "mother".

## PaG unstressed [e]

PaG [e] occurs in unstressed syllables as a mid-central vowel, contrasting with unstressed [i], but otherwise varying a great deal with its surroundings. If preconsonantal or final [r] follows, it may be considerably lowered and retracted. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) Any MHG vowel except *ī/ī* in a completely unstressed syllable: *geblú:gd* "plowed", *bendel* "string", *hunerd* "hundred", *beder* "beds", *be:sem/be:se* "broom", *noxber* "neighbor", *celá:d* "lettuce", *resáine* "raisins", *arewed* "work", *šán-šdè*: "chimney" (in the common pronunciation: *sansde*).

(2) English unstressed [e], e.g., *čæged* "vest" (with borrowed [æ]), *kaunder* "counter".

(3) A vowel which developed between *r/l* and labials: *darem* "intestine", *warem* "worm", *šdarem* "storm", *kareb* "basket", *gareb* "sheaf", *harebšd* "autumn", *halem* "stalk", *šelem* "rogue", *areble* "strawberries" (a variant of *ėbbi:re*), *arewed* "work".

## 3. VOWEL QUANTITY

The following changes in vowel quantity have taken place in PaG since MHG times:

- (1) Lengthening of short vowels in open syllables:<sup>8</sup> e.g., i:wel "evil", fi: "cattle", be:sem "broom", e:l "oil", ka:der "tom-cat".
- (2) Lengthening of short vowels in monosyllabic words ending in a single consonant, by analogy to disyllabic forms in the paradigm: e.g., šdi:l "handle", gla:s "glass", ho:f "yard".
- (3) Lengthening of short vowels in monosyllabic words ending in r: e.g., mi:r "we", di:r/i:r "you" (pl.), i:r "her".
- (4) Lengthening of MHG a before rt: e.g., ga:rde "garden", wa:rde "to wait"; likewise MHG a before rs in: a:rš "anus".
- (5) Shortening of long vowels as follows:
  - (a) before ht: gebróxd "brought";
  - (b) before rch: harixe "to obey";
  - (c) in some compounds: noxber "neighbor", hoxcix "wedding";
  - (d) in the words: sifer "drunkard" (MHG iu), uf "up" (MHG ū), wenix "a little" (MHG ē), šenšd "most beautiful" (MHG æ), losd "(he) lets" (MHG ô), hošd "(you) have" (MHG ā), hod "(he) has", bobli "baby" (MHG ī).
- (6) Shortening of diphthongs in: lixd "light" (MHG ie), mise "(we) must" (MHG iē), cwed "second" (MHG ei), glener/glenšd "smaller/smallest" (MHG ei), fâcè: "fourteen" (MHG ie), cwancix "twenty" (MHG ei), mus "(I) must" (MHG uo), muder "mother" (MHG uo), genúng "enough" (MHG uo), en gu:di arn "a good harvest" (MHG iu).

### C. CONSONANTS

#### 1. SONORANTS

##### PaG [m]

PaG [m] is a bilabial nasal consonant, derived from the following source:

MHG m maul "mouth", blu:me "flower", ba:m "tree", be:sem "broom", bodem "floor".<sup>9</sup>

##### PaG [n]

PaG [n] is a dental nasal consonant, derived from the following sources:

<sup>8</sup> Speakers in Berks County frequently have a short vowel in certain words in which the MHG root-vowel stood in an open syllable, e.g., PaG [kix] "kitchen", [šdub] "room", [siwe] "seven", [ofe] "stove", [hunix] "honey", [fogel] "bird". In [fogel] it is probable that the short vowel was generalized from forms in the paradigm where MHG *o* was in a closed syllable, e.g., MHG gen. sg. *fogles*, dat. sg. *fogle*; PaG [fo:gel], which is common in Lehigh County, however, is derived from the MHG nom. acc. sg. forms, *fogel*, where MHG *o* stood in an open syllable.

<sup>9</sup> PaG [m] also results from assimilation of MHG *n* to a following labial in MHG *geben wir* and other such forms; hence PaG [mi:r] "we".

(1) MHG *n* no:del "needle", nešd "nest", glener "smaller", kind "child", man "man", bin "(I) am", den "barn-floor", bu:n "bean", sailin "little pigs", boblin "babies".

(2) MHG *nd/nt* by assimilation, in intervocalic position: kiner "children" (MHG *nd*), fine "to find" (MHG *nd*), numer "down" (MHG *nt*).

(3) False word-division in: en nasd/der nasd "a branch/the branch" (MHG *ein ast/der ast*).

#### PaG [ŋ]

PaG [ŋ] is a velar nasal after short vowels, but mere nasalization after long vowels or diphthongs; it can only occur after vowels and cannot begin a syllable. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *n* before *k* (MHG *k* is preserved as PaG [g]): saŋg "closet", driŋge "to drink", denŋe "to think".

(2) MHG *n* before *g* with preservation of MHG *g* (PaG [g]): gaŋg "hall", genúŋg "enough"; with assimilation of MHG *g*: laŋ "long", juŋ "young", siŋe "to sing".

(3) MHG *n* occurring finally in the syllable, after long vowels and diphthongs: šde:ŋ "stone", a:ŋ "on" (adv.), ca:ŋ "tooth", su:ŋ "son".

#### PaG [l]

PaG [l] is a dental liquid, weakly palatalized, occurring in all positions, and derived from:

MHG *l* la:d "coffin", blaibd "(he) stays", wele "to wish to", ale "all", fi:l "much", šdal "stall", fogel "bird".

### 2. FRICATIVES

#### PaG [w]

PaG [w] is a voiced bilabial fricative, occurring initially and medially, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *w* initially: we:ce "wheat", wele "(they) wish to", wox "week", wu: "where"; after initial *k*, *sch*, *z*: gwel "source", šwads "black", cwe: "two".

(2) MHG *b* between vowels: gla:we "to believe", o:wed "evening", ewer "boar", hiwel "hill"; also in: arewed "work", gnowlix "garlic"<sup>10</sup> (MHG *arebeit*, *knobelouch*).

#### PaG [r]

PaG [r] varies with its surroundings; prevocalic [r] is always a tongue-tip trilled dental fricative; preconsonantal and final [r] is normally a weak post-velar fricative. Since MHG *r* followed by a velar or labial appears in PaG with a developed vowel after the [r], preconsonantal [r] in PaG can only occur before dentals [d, n, l] and post-dentals [c, č, s, š]. This preconsonantal [r] is very unstable; it may be weak or completely lost, depending upon the word in which it

<sup>10</sup> PaG [gnóblòx] also occurs.

occurs and the habits of the individual speaker. PaG [r] is derived from the following source:

MHG *r* before a vowel: *ro:d* "red", *šraiwe* "to write", *šdro*: "straw"; as well as before the developed vowel, as in: *marig* "market", *kareb* "basket"; before a consonant: *waršd* "sausage", *karn* "rye", *harc* "heart"; in final position: *mar* "mare", *waser* "water".

#### PaG [j]

PaG [j] is a voiced palatal or velar fricative, occurring initially and medially, and contacting only vowels. Initially, it is always palatal and has only slight friction. After a front vowel it is always palatal and has varying degrees of friction. After a back vowel it is velar, has slight friction, and is labialized.<sup>11</sup> Its sources are as follows:

- (1) MHG *j* initially only: *ja:r* "year", *juŋ* "young".
- (2) MHG dialect *g* (i.e., fricative) between vowels: *re:jerd* "(it) rains", *gelé:je* "lain", *we:je* "wagons", *le:je* "to lay"; after the developed palatal vowel [i]: *marije* "morning", *barije* "mountains"; after back vowels, with weak to strong labialization: *wa:je* "wagon", *a:je* "eyes", *sa:je* "say".

#### PaG [f]

PaG [f] is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative, occurring in all positions derived from:

MHG *f*, *v* fine "to find", *fi:* "cattle", *fli:je* "to fly", *ofe* "stove", *šafd* "(he) works", *fimf* "five", *ho:f* "yard".

#### PaG [s]

PaG [s] is a voiceless, tongue-tip dental fricative, occurring in all positions, derived from the following sources:

- (1) MHG *s* *sau* "pig", *si:ŋ* "to sing", *sube* "soup", *be:sem* "broom", *hose* "trousers", *na:s* "nose", *haus* "house", *ogs* "ox", *segs* "six".
- (2) MHG *z* *gese* "eaten", *losd* "(he) lets", *we:s* "(I) know", *šdro:s* "street", *fu:s* "foot".

#### PaG [š]

PaG [š] is a voiceless, tongue-blade dental fricative, occurring in all positions, derived from:

MHG *s* before consonants, initially [sl-, sm-, sn-]: *šle:f* "drag", *šmí:r-kè:s* "cottage cheese", *šno:g* "gnat"; [sp-, sw-, st-, sch-]: *šbel* "pin", *šwac* "black", *šdro:s* "street", *šo:f* "sheep"; medially [-st-, -sp-, -sch]: *wašd* "sausage", *fenšder* "window", *wešb* "wasp", *fle:š* "meat", *fröš* "frog"; between vowels, only in: *ge:šel* "lash"; initially before a vowel, only in: *šünšd* "otherwise" (by distant assimilation).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> A number of speakers substitute the phoneme [w] in such instances.

<sup>12</sup> PaG [s] occurs instead of [š] before consonants in [gšnarigsd] "snored" and [segsd] "sixth". MHG *z* (PaG [s]), in such words as PaG [ese] "to eat" and [lose] "to let", appears as PaG [s] even before a consonant, throughout the paradigm: [er losd] "he lets", [di:r esd] "(you) eat" (pl.).

## PaG [x]

PaG [x] is a voiceless palatal or velar fricative, occurring medially and finally. After a front vowel, and in the diminutive suffix [xe], it is palatal; after a back vowel it is velar. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *ch* *bi:xer* "books", *he:xer* "higher", *gnoxe* "bone", *snúb-dù:x* "handkerchief", *lixd* "light", *fruxd* "grain".

(2) MHG dialect *h* (final, and before *t*) in the suffix *-ih* (Standard German *-ig*): *cwancix* "twenty", *draisix* "thirty", and before *-t* in the archaic PaG forms: *drextd* "(he) carries", *sexd* "(he) says".

## PaG [h]

PaG [h] is merely aspiration, the quality of which is determined by that of the following vowel. It occurs only in the initial position, before vowels, and is derived from:

MHG *h* *haus* "house", *é:xhà:s* "squirrel", *hund* "dog", *hem* "shirt", *he:m* "home".

## 3. STOPS

## PaG [p]

PaG [p] is a strong, voiceless stop, occurring only initially before a stressed vowel. It is derived from:

MHG dialect *p-* *pa:r* "several", *paif* "pipe", *pefer* "pepper", *pund* "pound", *pare* "pastor".

## PaG [t]

PaG [t] is a strong voiceless stop, occurring only in borrowed words, and only in initial position, e.g., in a word of English origin: *ti:čd* "(he) teaches". In the northern part of Berks and Lehigh Counties, [t] occurs in a single German word: *tud* "paper bag". This word could have been borrowed from Standard German in Pennsylvania, but, in the dialects of southwestern Germany, it is again a borrowed word. In the western Palatinate, initial [t] in this word occurs as the only example of the sound. In other words, it is a borrowed phoneme.

## PaG [k]

PaG [k] is a strong, voiceless stop, occurring only initially before a stressed vowel. It is derived from:

MHG *k-* *kalb* "calf", *kareb* "basket", *kac* "short", *karix* "church", *kind* "child", *kišd* "a chest".

## PaG [b]

PaG [b] is a weak, voiceless stop, occurring in all positions. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG *b* initially: *bro:d* "bread", *bru:der* "brother", *haur*

"farmer", bage "cheek", noxber "neighbor"; medially before a consonant: gebd "(he) gives", blaibd "(he) remains"; in final position: šdub "room", kareb "basket", kalb "calf".

(2) MHG dialect p (Standard German pf) initially before a consonant: blu:g "plow", blance "(we) plant"; in final position: šdrumb "stocking", wešb "wasp".

(3) MHG p after initial s: šbel "pin", šbi:ld "(he) plays"; initially before r: bredix "sermon", gebrò:wí:rd "tried" (pp.).

(4) MHG dialect -pp- (Standard German pf): abel "apple", gibel "tree-top", kob "head".

(5) MHG pp sube "soup".

(6) MHG w in PaG final position in: le:b "lion".

(7) MHG tw in: eber "someone", ebes "something".

#### PaG [d]

PaG [d] is a weak, voiceless stop, occurring in all positions, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG d du: "you", dai "your", feder "feather", bendel "string", mi:d "tired", la:d "coffin".

(2) MHG t (dialect d) di:r "door", de:l "part", druge "dry", bledr "leaves", buder "butter", ro:d "red", bro:d "bread", bagd "(she) bakes", lixd "light", fruxd "grain".

#### PaG [g]

PaG [g] is a weak, voiceless stop, occurring in all positions, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG g ge: "to go", gewē "to give", genúme "taken", ghad "had" (pp.); medially before a consonant:<sup>13</sup> sa:gd "(he) says", gelé:gd "laid" (pp.); finally: da:g "day", we:g "road", gaŋg "hall".

(2) MHG k initially before a consonant [MHG kl, kn, kr, qu]: gle: "small", gnowlix "garlic", grimle "crumbs", gwel "source"; medially: dringd "(he) drinks", bengel "footstool"; finally: šaŋg "closet", marig "market".

(3) MHG ck šógel-šdù:l "rocking-chair", bage "cheek", druge "dry", rog "coat", sag "pocket".

#### 4. ASSIBILATES

##### PaG [c]

PaG [c] is a weak, voiceless assibilated stop, derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG z- ce:xe "hand of a clock", cwe: "two", ca:ŋ "tooth".

<sup>13</sup> Also before the suffix *-el*, e.g., PaG [na:gel] "nail", [fogel] "bird". Since MHG *g* between vowels occurs as PaG [j], the stop here is derived from those MHG case-forms in which *g* and *l* were contiguous, e.g., MHG *nagles* (gen.), *nagle* (dat.), *fogles* (gen.), *fogle* (dat.), in which case *g* was not intervocalic.

(2) MHG -tz we:ce "wheat", gaucē "to bark", kac "cat", hac "heart".

### PaG [č]

PaG [č] is a weak, voiceless assibilated stop. It is derived from the following sources:

(1) MHG tsch reč "a gossip", reče "to gossip", briče "to spank", gaunč "a swing".

(2) English [tʃ] in borrowed words, such as: bunč "bunch", bučer "butcher", mač "match".<sup>14</sup>

(3) English [dʒ] in borrowed words, such as: čæged "vest", ču:n "June", čan "John".

### 5. ASSIMILATION

The following cases of assimilation, from MHG to PaG, should be noted:

- |                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| (1) MHG -md        | PaG m hem "shirt", hēmer "shirts".   |
| (2) MHG -mg- (*ng) | PaG ŋ buŋerd <sup>15</sup> "orchard".  |
| (3) MHG -mg- (*mm) | PaG m bumerd "orchard".  |
| (4) MHG -nd-       | PaG n between vowels: <sup>16</sup> riner "heifers", kiner "children", hunerd "hundred", fine "to find"; in final position in: sin "(we) are", un "and". <sup>17</sup> |
| (5) MHG -nd        | PaG d in: siwed "seventh", fūfcē:d "fifteenth".  |
| (6) MHG -nds       | PaG c in: o:wec "evenings".  |
| (7) MHG -ns        | PaG c in: marijēc "mornings".  |
| (8) MHG -ng        | PaG ŋ <sup>18</sup> laŋ "long", juŋ "young", diŋ "thing", geliŋ "pluck", gaŋe "gone", caidiŋ "newspaper", āuscēriŋ "consumption".                                      |
| (9) MHG -ld        | PaG -l in: bal "soon", ālewāil "at present" (MHG al die wile).   |
| (10) MHG -rd-      | PaG -r in: ware (St. Ger.) "worden".   |
| (11) MHG -tb-      | PaG -bb in: ēbbi:r "strawberry", or also PaG -b- in: arebel "strawberry".  |
| (12) MHG -tw-      | PaG -b- in: eber "someone", ebes "something".  |

<sup>14</sup> The English word "picture" is pronounced [pigder] in PaG; this is an old local English dialect pronunciation.

<sup>15</sup> PaG [bá:m-gò:rde] "orchard" also occurs.

<sup>16</sup> MHG -nd is retained as such in PaG before the suffix -el, e.g., PaG [bundel] "bunch", [bendel] "string", [grīskindel] "Christmas present". In this instance, the lack of assimilation is probably attributable to the influence of forms in the paradigm in which MHG d and l were contiguous, e.g., MHG *bendles* (gen.), *bendle* (dat.).

<sup>17</sup> Unstressed words: MHG -nd is retained in PaG as final [-nd] in stressed words, e.g., PaG [kind] "child", [pund] "pound", [land] "country".

<sup>18</sup> Two exceptions are the more frequent variants of PaG [gaŋ] "hall", [giŋde] "(they) would go", namely [gaŋg] and [giŋgde].



## 6. SIMPLIFICATION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS

- |               |   |
|---------------|---|
| (1) MHG -lz   | PaG ls sals "salt", šmals "lard", bélsnigel "St. Nicholas". |
| (2) MHG nz    | PaG ns in: gans "wholly".                                   |
| (3) MHG -ndes | PaG ns in: kins-kind "grandchild", rins-flè:š "beef".       |

## D. VARIATIONS IN PRONUNCIATION

1. The treatment of MHG *a* in closed syllables before nasals, velars, and *l*:

All of the areas investigated agree in retracting PaG [a] to a back vowel in the following words: [laŋ] "long", [gaŋg] "hall", [ald] "old", [šmals] "lard",<sup>19</sup> [axd] "heed".

Berks County has a low central vowel, Lehigh County a low back vowel in the following words: [bage] "cheek", [bagd] "bakes", [šdal] "stall", [fale] "to fall",<sup>20</sup> [sals] "salt".<sup>21</sup>

Berks County has a low back vowel, Lehigh County a low central vowel in the following words: [man] "man", [pan] "pan", [blance] "to plant".

Western and southwestern Berks County have a low back vowel, northern Berks and Lehigh County a low central vowel in: [kamer] "room", [kald] "cold".

PaG [kalb] "calf" is generally pronounced with a low back vowel, but sporadic instances indicate that a low central vowel may also be used.

*Summary:* MHG *a* occurs as either a low central or a low back vowel, free phonetic variants, in PaG. In some instances, both Berks and Lehigh Counties have the back vowel before nasals, velars, and *l*. In a number of instances, Berks County has the central vowel, and Lehigh County has the back vowel before velars and *l*. In one case, at least, it is Berks County which has the back vowel before *l*, and Lehigh County has the central vowel, but here the northern part of Berks County also has the central vowel. In several instances, Berks County has the back vowel before nasals, and Lehigh County has the central vowel. In one such case, the northern part of Berks County agrees with Lehigh County.

There are, moreover, two instances in which MHG *a* occurs as a central or back vowel in PaG, without any apparent reason for the variation: PaG [fas] "keg", where the usual pronunciation favors the back vowel, but a few speakers in Lehigh and Berks Counties, espe-

<sup>19</sup> Sporadic cases of [šmals], with the low central vowel unretracted, also occur, mostly in Berks County.

<sup>20</sup> Four isolated instances of [fale], with vowel unretracted, were also found in Lehigh County.

<sup>21</sup> Three separate instances of [sals], with vowel unretracted, were also found in Lehigh County.



cially younger ones, use the central vowel; PaG [hawer] "oats", where the common pronunciation favors the back vowel, but a few speakers in the vicinity of Fogelsville, Lehigh County, use the central vowel.

## 2. The treatment of vowels before [r] :

MHG *e* before *r* in the masculine nominative and feminine dative of the demonstrative pronouns, and in the interrogative pronoun for "who", appear as follows in PaG: Berks County has a low front vowel, Lehigh County a low central vowel.

MHG *e* before *rn* in MHG *ern* "harvest", before *rm* in MHG *derme* "intestines", and before *rs* in MHG *verse* "heel", appears as follows in PaG: southern and southwestern Berks County have a low front vowel, northern Berks County and Lehigh County have a low central vowel.

MHG *e* in MHG *sweher* "father-in-law" appears in PaG as follows: southern and southwestern Berks County have a low front vowel, northern Berks County and Lehigh County have a low central vowel.

MHG *ē* before *r* in PaG [aršde] "first", and [lādwärig] "apple butter" is pronounced low central to low front in Berks County, and low front to lower mid-front in Lehigh County. Thus it may possibly belong to different phonemes in the respective Counties.

MHG *æ* before *r* in PaG [ghe:rd] "heard" is pronounced as a somewhat lower vowel in Berks than in Lehigh County. The same is true for MHG *æ* before *r* in PaG [wer] "(if I) were".

In the PaG words [gšar] "dishes" (MHG *i*), [karix] "church" (MHG *i*), [kareb] "basket" (MHG *o*), [darix] "through" (MHG *u*), a low central vowel is commonly heard, but a low front vowel is also frequently heard in some places (e.g., around Fogelsville, Lehigh County). Moreover, the low front vowel, with the single exception of PaG [darix] "through", is limited to older speakers. Of these speakers, one also reported PaG [mar] "mare" (MHG *e*), [barig] "mountain" (MHG *e*), [marije] "morning" (MHG *o*), [darsdix] "thirsty" (MHG *u*), with a low front vowel, rather than the customary low central vowel.

MHG lengthened *a* before *r* appears as alternate phonemes in Berks and Lehigh Counties in the following words:

<i>Berks</i>	<i>Lehigh</i>
go:r "at all"	ga:r
bó:r-fi:six "barefoot"	bá:r-fi:six
go:rde "garden"	ga:rde

Likewise MHG *ā* before *r* in the following words:

<i>Berks</i>	<i>Lehigh</i>
po:r "pair"	pa:r
jo:r "year"	ja:r
ho:r "hair"	ha:r

*Summary:* MHG *e* before *r* appears, in some instances, as a low front vowel in Berks County and a low central vowel in Lehigh County; in a few cases, the low central vowel is common to Berks and most of Lehigh County, and the low front vowel is limited to a few older speakers in Lehigh County. MHG *i, o, u* before *r* generally appear in PaG as a low central vowel, but in a few words of several speakers in Lehigh County, they appear as a low front vowel. MHG *e* before *r* appears as a lower mid-front vowel in Berks County and a relatively higher mid-front vowel in Lehigh County; in one word, [ládwarig], it appears as a low central vowel in Berks County and a low front vowel in Lehigh County. MHG *æ* before *r* appears in Berks County as a relatively lower mid-vowel than in Lehigh County. MHG lengthened *a* generally appears as PaG [a:]; before *r* it appears as [o:] in Berks County, and [a:] in Lehigh County. MHG *ä* generally appears as [o:] in PaG; before *r* it appears as [o:] in Berks County, and [a:] in Lehigh County.

3. A number of variations of vowel quantity must also be noted.

In the following cases, MHG short vowels occur in Lehigh County as lengthened and in Berks County as unlengthened:

<i>Berks</i>	<i>Lehigh</i>
kix "kitchen"	ki:x
ofe "stove"	o:fe
hunix "honey"	hu:nix
šdub "room"	šdu:b <sup>22</sup>
niwer "over to"	ni:wer <sup>23</sup>
cù:fríde "satisfied"	cù:frí:de <sup>24</sup>
siwed "seventh"	si:wed
siwecix "seventy"	si:wecix
siwe "seven"	si:we <sup>25</sup>
bró:d-grimle "bread crumbs"	bró:d-gri:mle <sup>26</sup>
fogel "bird"	fo:gel
lái:n-dùx/-dù:x <sup>27</sup> "sheet"	lái:n-dù:x
sú:ndà:g "Sunday"	sú:ndà:g

In the PaG word for "Monday" (MHG *māntac*, *mōntac*), the MHG long vowel occurs in Berks County as shortened, and in Lehigh County as unshortened:

<i>Berks</i>	<i>Lehigh</i>
mú:ndà:g <sup>28</sup>	mú:ndà:g

<sup>22</sup> A few instances of [šdub] also occur in Lehigh County.

<sup>23</sup> A few instances of [niwer] also occur in Lehigh County, and a single instance of [ni:wer] was heard in Berks County.

<sup>24</sup> A few instances of [cù:frí:de] also occur in Berks County.

<sup>25</sup> A few instances of [siwe] also occur in Lehigh County.

<sup>26</sup> A few instances of [-grimle] also occur in Lehigh County.

<sup>27</sup> A number of instances of [-dù:x] occur in Berks County.

<sup>28</sup> Three instances of [mú:ndà:g] were also heard in Berks County (Womelsdorf).

In the PaG word for "enough" (MHG *genuoc*), the MHG diphthong occurs in Berks County as a shortened monophthong, in Lehigh County as a long monophthong:

*Berks*

genúg

*Lehigh*genú:ng<sup>20</sup>

The most frequent pronunciation of the PaG word for "tree-top" is [gibel], but a number of speakers in various parts of Lehigh County, especially the northern part, say [gi:bel].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "fifty" is [fúfcè:], but several of the older speakers in Lehigh County say [fú:fcè:].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "young" is [juŋ], but several speakers in Lehigh County say [ju:ŋ].

In the English loan-word for "sink", the common PaG pronunciation is [sing], but a few speakers in Lehigh County say [si:ŋ].

*Summary:* In a number of cases, MHG short vowels in open syllables appear in Lehigh County as lengthened and in Berks County as unlengthened. In some cases, MHG short vowels in closed syllables appear in Berks County as unlengthened and in Lehigh County as lengthened. In one instance, a MHG long vowel appears in Berks County as shortened, and in Lehigh County as unshortened. In another instance, a MHG diphthong occurs in Lehigh County as monophthongized, and in Berks County as monophthongized and shortened. A short vowel in one English loan-word occurs as such in Berks County, but is lengthened in Lehigh County.

4. The amount of nasality in such words as PaG [šde:ŋ] "stone", [be:ŋ] "leg", [ca:ŋ] "tooth", [a:ŋ] "on" (adv.), varies a great deal and is frequently lacking among speakers in Berks County, but it is always distinctly present among speakers in Lehigh County.

5. Miscellaneous items with regional distribution:

*Berks*

bündel "bunch"

gaunš "swing"

bá:m-gò:rde "orchard"

resáine "raisins"

gnówlíx "garlic"

báure-hàus "farm-house"

ail "owl"

*Lehigh*

bindel

gaunč

bu:erd, bumerd<sup>20</sup>ròsáine<sup>21</sup>gnóblox<sup>22</sup>báwere-hàus<sup>23</sup>aul<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Three instances of [genuŋg] were heard in Lehigh County.

<sup>21</sup> A few speakers in Lehigh County, however, say [bá:m-gà:rde].

<sup>22</sup> A few speakers in the northern part of Lehigh County, however, say [resáine].

<sup>23</sup> A few instances of [-lox] also occur in Berks County.

<sup>24</sup> The distribution is approximately the same in the case of PaG [baurái/bawerái] "farm", but in this instance several speakers in Lehigh County say [baurái].

<sup>25</sup> A few speakers in Lehigh County, however, say [ail].

## 6. Miscellaneous items of limited occurrence:

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "lettuce" is [celá:d], but a few older speakers in both Berks and Lehigh Counties say [selá:d].

The common pronunciation of the PaG expression for "it rains" is [es rejerd], but several older speakers used the phoneme [g] instead of [j] here. Thus, the form [regerd], which is generally regarded by speakers of PaG as being "old-fashioned."

A number of speakers in Lehigh County pronounce PaG [den] "threshing floor" with an epenthetic [d], or as [dend]. One of these speakers also pronounced [ho:f] "yard" as [ho:fd].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "paper bag" is [dud], but a few speakers in the northern part of Lehigh and Berks Counties have a borrowed phoneme (initial [t]) in this word, hence the form [tud].

The PaG plural form of [gla:s] "glass" is usually [gleser], yet one speaker in the southern part of Lehigh County reported [gle:ser]. This speaker, however, also speaks Standard German.

The third person singular indicative of the PaG verb "to carry" is usually [dra:gd], but three older speakers in Lehigh County reported [drexld], and several others recognized [drexld] as being archaic.

The third person singular indicative of the PaG verb "to say" is usually [sa:gd], but four speakers in Lehigh County reported [sexld] (two of these used [drexld] for "carries"; cf. above). The form [sexld] is considered archaic by those who have heard it but who do not use it.

The third person singular indicative of the PaG verb "to need" is commonly [brauxld], but a number of speakers in Womelsdorf, Berks County, and several isolated speakers in Lehigh County, say [braixld]—which is also the common form for the subjunctive.

The common comparative form of the PaG adjective meaning "near" is [ne:xer], but several of the older and more conservative speakers in Berks and Lehigh Counties say [ne:er].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "door" is [di:r], but two of the younger speakers in Lehigh County reported [der].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "potato" is [grúmbi:r], but a few speakers in the northern part of Lehigh County, and one in the southern part, reported [grúmbè:r].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for "window" is [fenšder], but several isolated speakers in Lehigh County, near the border of Berks County, used [finšder]. A number of other speakers in Lehigh County recognized this pronunciation, but did not use it. In western Berks County, the use of [finšder] is recognized and attributed to other areas.

The first syllable of the PaG word for garlic may end in a fricative, hence [gnówlix], or a stop, [gnóblòx]. The form [gnóblòx] is con-

finned largely to the eastern and central parts of Lehigh County, only a single case of [gnóblòx] being recorded in Berks County. Otherwise, Berks and the western part of Lehigh Counties have [gnówlix].

The common pronunciation of the PaG word for a "straw mattress" is [šbráu-sàg], but speakers in the extreme northwestern part of Lehigh County, and a few speakers in the southwestern part, say [šbrá:-sàg].

The common pronunciation of the first person plural subjunctive of the PaG verb "to go" is [gɪŋde], but a few speakers in the central part of Lehigh County and several who live in the extreme western part say [geŋde].

MHG final unaccented *-em* is usually retained as [em] in PaG, hence PaG [bodem] "floor" and [be:sem] "broom", but several speakers living on the Berks-Lebanon County border say [bode] and [be:se]. Inquiry has revealed that these are the common forms in Lebanon and Lancaster Counties.

7. Variations in the pronunciation of English loan-words which have not been mentioned above are as follows:

[bjú:rò/bí:rò] "chest of drawers": Berks County and the northwestern part of Lehigh County have [bjú:rò], while the rest of Lehigh County has [bí:rò].

[wěš-bàiler/wěš-bòiler] "wash-boiler": Berks County generally has [-bailer], but several cases of [-boiler] were also noted there. Lehigh County has [-boiler] in the northern area, but another word is used in the rest of the county: [wěš-kèsel].

[gæred/gared]<sup>35</sup> "attic": a large area around Womelsdorf has [gæred], and a few scattered instances of it occur in central Lehigh County; otherwise, [gared] is the regular form.

[kær/kar] "car": the common pronunciation is [kar], but speakers living along the Berks-Lebanon County border say [kær].

[boi/pai] "pie": the distribution of these variants is quite complex; the usual term in Berks County is [pai], but several speakers along the Berks-Lebanon County border say [boi]; the usual term in Lehigh County is [boi], but several speakers in the northern part, and at least one in the southern part, say [pai].

#### E. COMPARISON OF THE PHONETIC FEATURES IN THE AREAS INVESTIGATED WITH THOSE OF SOUTHWESTERN GERMANY

Considerable information is available on the linguistic features of present-day German dialects spoken in the areas from which the Pennsylvania Germans are believed to have originated. This information, however, varies in detail from place to place, and is thus less reliable in some places than in others. By making a comparison of

<sup>35</sup> Here the English (borrowed) phoneme is represented by [æ].

the present status of Pennsylvania German phonology with that of the dialects of southwestern Germany as they appear today, it was expected that some tentative conclusions could be made especially regarding the obvious geographical deviations within the Pennsylvania German dialect itself.

Accordingly, these observations are presented in two divisions (exactly as in the discussion of Phonology above), to be identified as follows: (1) features which were common to all of the informants in the Pennsylvania German areas investigated, and (2) features which varied geographically among these same informants.

Among the common features, a selection of two hundred and eight items having the utmost phonological variety in Pennsylvania German revealed the following correspondences in southwestern Germany:<sup>36</sup>

Political Division or Territory	Items attested, of a possible 208	Items agreeing with those of PaG	Percentage of agreement
Rhine Province	92	71	77
Saar	50	17	34
Lorraine	168	124	74
Northern Alsace	201	119	59.2
Western Palatinate	195	164	84
Eastern Palatinate	193	183	95
Northwestern Baden	195	174	89.2
Northern Württemberg	199	144	72.3
Northeastern Baden	188	133	70.7
Hesse-Darmstadt	90	54	60
Rhine-Hesse	15	2	13
Lower Hesse	202	111	55
Nassau	33	16	48.5
Southern Alsace	200	62	31
Central Baden	156	91	58
Southern Württemberg	196	93	47.1

This table was constructed in the following manner: the number of attested forms in each area was rated as 100 per cent for that particular area; the number of these attested forms which agreed with Pennsylvania German forms was then converted into whatever percentage of the total attested forms (in that area) these forms represented. For example, 168 (out of 208) items were attested in Lorraine, and 124 of these agreed with Pennsylvania German forms, hence 124 equals 74 per cent of 168 (the total attested forms in Lorraine) by the formula:  $124/168 \times 100$ . Admittedly, the statistical

<sup>36</sup> For information available on these areas, see: Otto Springer, *A Working Bibliography for the Study of the Pennsylvania German Language and Its Sources*, second revised edition, mimeograph sheets, issued by the author, 1941. Southern Alsace, Central Baden (no information was available for Southern Baden), and Southern Württemberg may be called "Alemannic" areas, while the others here will be considered "Franconian."

information thus presented cannot be wholly reliable, particularly in those areas where very few forms were actually attested, namely, in the Saar, in Nassau, and in Rhine-Hesse.

From these statistics, however, the following generalizations may be made: (1) The phonetic features common to all of the Pennsylvania German informants in the areas investigated are rather widespread in southwestern Germany. By far the largest number of these features are most prevalent in the eastern Palatinate, northwestern Baden, and the western Palatinate, and in the order named. They occur with progressively less frequency in areas which are increasingly remote from the eastern Palatinate. It may be noted, however, that they are far more frequent in the Franconian areas than in the Alemannic. (2) The information available on such phonetic features is particularly scant in the Saar, Nassau, and Rhine-Hesse, and it is rather limited in Hesse-Darmstadt and the Rhine Province.

Among the variable features in the Pennsylvania German areas investigated, four general groups may be examined: (a) items in which Berks County has one set of features and Lehigh County another; (b) features which are general in both counties, except for sporadic variants; (c) features which are general in both counties, but which have sporadic variants in Lehigh County; and (d) features which are general in both counties, but which have sporadic variants in Berks County.

The phonetic variants of PaG [a] (from MHG *a* in closed syllables), are low front, low central, and low back vowels. As indicated above, the low back variant occurs frequently before nasals, velars, and [-l]; it also occurs in [fas] "barrel" and [hawer] "oats". Low central [a] is very widespread in southwestern Germany, in such cases, but low back [a] occurs in a rather restricted area, including central Baden, northeastern Baden, northern Württemberg, and Lorraine (the latter being quite detached from the first three). The complex variation of this feature within the Pennsylvania German area itself, however, does not permit any conclusion to be made as yet with regard to dialect correspondence.

In almost every instance, MHG *e*, *ē*, *æ*, *æ*, were lowered before [-r] in Pennsylvania German, but the relative amount of lowering varies regionally. The lowering is also quite common in southwestern Germany, and it seems to be relatively greater in northern Alsace and in Württemberg. It is less common in Lorraine, the Saar, and the Rhine Province.

With reference to the Pennsylvania German phonemic alternants, [o:] and [a:] (from MHG *ā* and lengthened MHG *a*) before [-r] in Pennsylvania German, it has been observed that [o:] occurs most frequently in Lorraine, northern Alsace, and, sporadically, in areas north of these. The PaG (low back) type [a:] is frequent in the



Rhine Province and in Hesse-Darmstadt, and it is also quite frequent in Württemberg (especially in the northern part).

A number of miscellaneous variants, one set of which is used in Berks County, and the other of which is used in Lehigh County (namely: [bundel/bindel, resáine/rösáine, gnowlix/gnóblòx, bàwerái/bàwerái] "bunch, raisins, garlic, farm") were widely attested in southwestern Germany. It may be noted that a relatively high number of variants occurring in Berks County were found only in Württemberg, and that a relatively large number of the variants occurring in Lehigh County were confined to the Palatinate and northern Alsace.

The preservation of MHG short vowels in open syllables, as in PaG [šdub] "room" or [siwe] "seven", and the shortening of MHG long vowels and diphthongs, as in PaG [múnda:g] "Monday" or [dux] "cloth", are widespread in southwestern Germany; these same features are of regular occurrence in Berks County. The presence of long vowels in the same instances is limited largely to Württemberg, southern Alsace, and northeastern Baden; in Lehigh County, long vowels occur regularly in these instances.

In contrast to the usual [celá:d, rejerd, dud, brauxd, ne:xer] "let-tuce, (it's) raining, paper bag, would need, nearer", common to both Berks and Lehigh Counties, the forms [selá:d, regerd, tud, braixd, ne:er] occur sporadically in both counties. The first set occurs more frequently in northern Württemberg, northern Baden, and in the Palatinate, particularly in the eastern Palatinate. The sporadic set occurs more frequently in southern Württemberg, southern Alsace, and adjoining areas to the north, namely, central Baden, northern Alsace, and the western Palatinate.

The forms [den, ho:f, gleser, dra:gd, sa:gd, di:r, grúmbi:r, fenšder, gnowlix, šbráu-sàg, giŋgde] "threshing-floor, yard, glasses, carries, says, door, potato, window, garlic, straw-sack, would go", occur generally in Berks and Lehigh Counties, but [dend, ho:fd, gle:ser, drex d, sexd, de:r, grúmbè:r, finšder, gnóblòx, šbrá-sàg, geŋgde] occur sporadically in Lehigh County. The first set occurs widely in southwestern Germany, while the sporadic features are limited mainly to the Palatinate, Lorraine, and the Rhine Province, thus predominantly in the Franconian area.

Regarding the partial or complete lowering of MHG *i, e, a, o, u* before *-r*, there are numerous instances where all of these occur as low central [a] in the Pennsylvania German of both Berks and Lehigh Counties, but a few instances of low front [a] occur in Lehigh County. In southwestern Germany, the occurrence of low central [a] under such conditions is attested largely in the eastern Palatinate, northwestern Baden, northern Alsace, northern Württemberg, and Hesse-Darmstadt. The occurrence of low front [a] in these same instances, however, is more limited, being restricted chiefly to the



western Palatinate, the eastern Palatinate, northern Baden, and the more remote area of Lower Hesse. The occurrence of these variants in southwestern Germany seems to have about the same proportional representation there as in Berks and Lehigh Counties.

MHG final [-m] in an unstressed syllable, e.g., PaG [bodem, be:sem] "floor, broom", is generally retained in both Berks and Lehigh Counties, but in the western part of Berks County, and in Lebanon County, it is lost. With regard to southwestern Germany, this [-m] is retained everywhere, except in Alsace, northwestern, central, and southern Baden; Lorraine and Württemberg vary in usage. On the whole, loss of [-m] here would appear to be an Alemannic feature; retention of it, a Franconian feature.

*Summary:* The variable features of Pennsylvania German phonology are reflected by similar variations in southwestern Germany. The more predominant features in Pennsylvania are also the more common ones in southwestern Germany, particularly in and around the eastern Palatinate. Sporadic features occur more often in a radius beyond these. The variants peculiar to Lehigh County are more frequently attested in the western Palatinate, Rhine-Hesse, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Lower Hesse; they are thus largely Franconian. The variants peculiar to Berks County occur more frequently in the eastern Palatinate, northwestern Baden, Lorraine, the Saar, northern Alsace, southern Alsace, northern Württemberg, and southern Württemberg. Thus, in Berks County, although Franconian features predominate, Alemannic elements have a relatively high frequency. The western border of Berks County especially favors the variants which most resemble the Alemannic equivalent types.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Results of further research, as yet unpublished, show that a large area, including Lancaster and Lebanon Counties, uses most of these "variants" as common types.

## MOLIERE'S DEBT TO MONTAIGNE

By CHARLOTTE R. WADSWORTH

From Charron to Emerson, Tolstoi to André Gide, French and foreign authors have studied, criticized, imitated, and borrowed from the *Essais* of Montaigne. Almost from their publication date the essays enjoyed a wide popularity, and in seventeenth-century France probably every cultivated person read and discussed them; numerous reminiscences of Montaigne appear in the writings of the great French classicists and their contemporaries. Molière, as a friend of many of Montaigne's disciples and as a dramatist alert to the interests of his public, could hardly escape the influence of the essayist. That Molière derived a certain amount of inspiration from Montaigne is no new discovery;<sup>1</sup> what is our concern here is to point out which of Montaigne's ideas the dramatist incorporates in his comedies and to estimate their contribution to the vigor and vitality of his work. What is Molière's debt to Montaigne?

The most obvious and frequently remarked similarity between the two authors is their bitter attitude toward doctors.<sup>2</sup> The world has always enjoyed a laugh at the expense of the solemn medical profession; several seventeenth-century writers had already ridiculed it, and Molière, like Montaigne, painfully aware of medicine's inability to cure him, would no doubt have mocked physicians had the *Essais* never existed. Many of his repetitions of Montaigne belong to the traditional criticism of the medical profession. For example, Montaigne lashes out against the doctors' veneration of their rules: ". . . ils cognoissent bien Galien, mais nullement le malade: ils vous ont desjà rempli la teste de loix . . . ils sçavent la theorique de toutes choses; cherchez qui la mette en pratique."<sup>3</sup> Desfonandres and other characters in *L'Amour Médecin*, the apothecary and doctor in *M. de Pourceaugnac*, Béralde and M. Diafoirus in *Le Malade Imaginaire*, all point out this trait. There is little reason to believe

<sup>1</sup> In 1896, Laumonier pointed out for the first time the moral and intellectual relationship of Montaigne to various seventeenth-century authors, including Molière. Other critics—Auger, Mesnard, Lanson, Gide, to mention only a few—have remarked occasional similarities between the two writers; the most detailed study, which treats only one phase of the problem, is Kurt Heller's thesis: *Michel de Montaigne's Einfluß auf die Arztstücke Molière's* (Jena, 1908). The chapter on Molière and La Fontaine in *The Fortunes of Montaigne* by Alan Boase (London, 1935) analyzes certain important plays in the light of Montaigne's philosophy but does not define Montaigne's contribution to Molière's work as a whole.

<sup>2</sup> In the following paragraphs on medicine, I am requoting passages cited by Heller (*op. cit.*) which are significant for the present study; his thesis takes Molière's plays in chronological order, indicating every passage reminiscent of Montaigne.

<sup>3</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, nouvelle édition . . . par M. J.-V. Leclerc (Paris, n.d.), I, 106. (All quotations of the essays are from this edition.)

that Molière was thinking of the essays in these instances; medical men were often represented as bound up in their ancient practices, and the ultraconservative attitude of the Faculty of Medicine toward experimentation might alone have been sufficient inspiration for him. Both authors censure other stock characteristics of the doctors: greed, taking credit for fortuitous cures, dosing healthy persons with precautionary medicines, and so on. In all these stereotyped comments, no turn of phrase in the comedies suggests a borrowing from the essays, and the large number of parallel observations may be coincidental.

In addition to the number of run-of-the-mill quips scattered here and there in the comedies, we can point out cases where Molière voices less common ideas on the subject of medicine which he may well have borrowed from Montaigne. M. de Pourceaugnac's hereditary aversion to medicine recalls Montaigne's statement that his family had always had a horror of doctors,<sup>4</sup> and the gleeful "C'est fort bien fait" with which Sganarelle in *Le Médecin Volant* and his namesake in *Le Médecin malgré lui* receive news of their patients' suffering reminds us of an anecdote related by Montaigne.<sup>5</sup> It is even possible that the plan of *Le Malade Imaginaire* may have been suggested by a passage from the *Essais*.<sup>6</sup>

We can almost certainly attribute to Montaigne parts of M. Filerin's long speech in the first scene of the third act of *L'Amour Médecin*, where he tells his colleagues that the doctors are no different from everyone else in profiting from man's folly and deplores their wrangling among themselves.<sup>7</sup> Filerin also follows Montaigne in explaining that the doctors' popularity depends rather on man's fear of death than on the efficacy of their medicines.<sup>8</sup> Béralde in

<sup>4</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 149-50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 154-55: "... un malade estant interrogé par son medecin quelle operation il sentoit des medicaments qu'il lui avoit donnez: 'J'ay fort sué,' respondit il; 'Cela est bon!' dict le medecin. . . ." Heller, *op. cit.*, p. 18 n., sees a recollection of Montaigne in the comedies, though he remarks a similar scene in Cyrano's *Contre les medecins*. Possibly Molière borrowed here from Cyrano; if he did, it probably represents a secondhand borrowing from the *Essais*, for several passages in *Contre les medecins* echo Montaigne.

<sup>6</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 455-56: "Combien en a rendu de malades la seule force de l'imagination? Nous en veoyons ordinairement se faire saigner, purger et medeciner, pour guarir des maux qu'ils ne sentent qu'en leur discours . . . comme s'il n'estoit point assez à temps de souffrir le mal lorsqu'il y sera, il l'anticipe par fantasie et luy court au devant." This seems to be the most probable literary source for Molière's play; Henry C. Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, Part III: *The Period of Molière* (Baltimore, 1936), II, 746, rejects the possibility of Le Boulanger de Chalussy's *L'Elomire Hypocondre* as a source. A. Lytton Sells, "Molière and La Mothe le Vayer," *Modern Language Review*, XXVIII (1933), 365, quotes a passage from the *Dialogue sur l'opiniâtreté* which he suggests may have inspired Molière. However, it is an old man rather than an imaginary invalid whom La Mothe le Vayer describes; the Montaigne passage is much more similar to Argan's situation.

<sup>7</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 156, 166.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 167.

*Le Malade Imaginaire* takes up this idea too; like Filerin he often echoes the essays.<sup>9</sup> It is Béralde who actually sums up Molière's whole attitude toward medicine: "La nature, d'elle-même, quand nous la laissons faire, se tire doucement du désordre où elle est tombée."<sup>10</sup> This is almost a direct quotation of Montaigne's advice: "Laissons faire un peu à nature: elle entend mieulx ses affaires que nous."<sup>11</sup> For both authors, then, only nature can cure our ills; the doctors are charlatans preying on the fears and fancies of men.

Other sorts of imposters are also criticized by both Molière and Montaigne, although not so harshly nor so frequently. The parvenus come in for their share of ridicule in the *Essais*: "... c'est un vilain usage, et de tresmauvaise consequence en nostre France, d'appeller chascun par le nom de sa terre et seigneurie."<sup>12</sup> Chrystalde, in *L'Ecole des femmes*, reproaches Arnolphe in like fashion:

Qui diable vous a fait aussi vous aviser,  
A quarante-deux ans de vous débaptiser,  
Et d'un vieux tronc pourri de votre métairie  
Vous faire dans le monde un nom de seigneurie?<sup>13</sup>

Montaigne also satirizes legal trickery and the difficulties of a trial: "A combien de fois me suis je faict une bien evident injustice, pour fuyr le hazard de la recevoir encores pire des juges. . . ."<sup>14</sup> Scapin, in *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, repeats Montaigne's weariness: "Mais pour plaider il vous faudra de l'argent . . . j'aimerais mieux donner trois cents pistoles que de plaider. . . ."<sup>15</sup> In both cases Molière may have been thinking of the essays, but the court of Louis XIV swarmed with social climbers like Arnolphe and M. Jourdain, and legal procedure had as many complexities in the seventeenth century as in the sixteenth. More likely his remarks are merely the results of personal observation.

Religious hypocrites, too, were common enough in both centuries, but we may point out two instances where Molière's plays illustrate Montaigne's expressions. Tartuffe's near success recalls the essayist's remark that no trait is so easy to counterfeit as devotion,<sup>16</sup> and Don Juan's final hypocrisy, the basest of his sins, reminds us that Montaigne considered the evil-doer who pretends righteousness far

<sup>9</sup> Molière, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Act III, Scene 3. In addition to the previous passage, Béralde paraphrases the *Essais*, I, 94-95, and II, 160.

<sup>10</sup> Molière, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, Act III, Scene 3.

<sup>11</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 481. Boase, *op. cit.*, p. 394, advances the plausible theory, not suggested by Heller, that Argan's becoming his own doctor follows Montaigne's rule that we use the simple remedies provided by nature.

<sup>12</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 258. Montaigne here criticizes a fault of which he himself was guilty.

<sup>13</sup> Molière, *L'Ecole des femmes*, Act I, Scene 1.

<sup>14</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 407.

<sup>15</sup> Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, Act II, Scene 8.

<sup>16</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 197: "Je ne treuve aulcune qualité si aysee à contrefaire que la devotion, si on n'y conforme les mœurs et la vie: son essence est abstruse et occulte; les apparences, faciles et trompeuses."

more wicked than the outright scoundrel.<sup>17</sup> Contemporary literature, notably Scarron's *Les Hypocrites* and the various interpretations of the Don Juan legend, probably furnished Molière with whatever literary sources he used in painting religious hypocrisy, but it is possible that he may also have had the *Essais* in mind.

Two other types of pretenders satirized by Montaigne who reappear in Molière's plays are the pedants and their fellows, the importunate poets. Mascarille, Orante, Lycidas, Trissotin, and Vadius, although doubtless inspired by contemporary figures, are direct descendants of Montaigne's bore who constantly plagued unwilling listeners with his bad poetry.<sup>18</sup> Dorante's discussion of literary quarrels in the seventh scene of *La Critique de l'école des femmes* represents a view similar to Montaigne's on quarrels among learned writers;<sup>19</sup> here, too, Molière had plenty of personal experience to draw on and needed no outside inspiration.

Both Molière and Montaigne make fun of all learning based on memory rather than on understanding. Like the doctors, would-be scholars have always been a source of amusement, and several of their affectations, as brought out in both the essays and the comedies, were stock traits of the savants in the *commedia dell'arte*. Molière's satire of pedantry, however, goes far beyond that of the Italian farces, and it seems likely that the essays may have suggested some of his more penetrating remarks. Montaigne felt that not everyone was destined for learning,<sup>20</sup> and Henriette in *Les Femmes Savantes* gives as a reason for her refusal to devote herself to study:

Le ciel, dont nous voyons que l'ordre est tout-puissant,  
Pour différents emplois nous fabrique en naissant;  
Et tout esprit n'est pas composé d'une étoffe  
Qui se trouve taillée à faire un philosophe.<sup>21</sup>

Later in the same play, Clitandre, arguing with the pedant Trissotin, declares that: "Le savoir dans un fat devient impertinent."<sup>22</sup> He also tells Trissotin that "un sot savant est sot plus qu'un sot ignorant,"<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 294: "Et l'assiette d'un homme meslant à une vie execrable la devotion, semble estre aucunement plus condamnable que celle d'un homme conforme à soy, et dissolu partout. . . ."

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 31: "Je sçais un poëte à qui, fort et faible, en foule et en chambre, et le ciel et la terre crient qu'il n'y entend gueres: il n'en rabbat pour tout cela rien de la mesure à quoy il s'est taillé; tousjours recommence, tousjours reconsulte, et tousjours persiste, d'autant plus fort en son advis, et plus roide, qu'il touche à luy seul de le maintenir."

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 512: "Il se veoid infinis pareils exemples, non d'arguments fauls seulement, mais ineptes, ne se tenants point, et accusants leurs auteurs, non tant d'ignorance que d'imprudence, ez reproches que les philosophes se font les uns aux autres sur les dissensions de leurs opinions et de leurs sectes."

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 116.

<sup>21</sup> Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act I, Scene 1.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Act IV, Scene 3.

<sup>23</sup> Sells, *loc. cit.*, p. 359, cites a passage from La Mothe le Vayer as the inspiration for Clitandre's words. This passage is little closer to Molière than Montaigne's, and Molière may have been thinking of either one, or per-

which recalls Montaigne's distinction between simple and "doctoral" ignorance.<sup>24</sup>

True scholarship, on the other hand, is a valuable and desirable quality. "J'aime et honnore le sçavoir, autant que ceulx qui l'ont," says Montaigne, "et, en son vray usage, c'est le plus noble et puissant acquist des hommes. . . ."<sup>25</sup> Once again it is Clitandre who follows the essays:

. . . je hais seulement  
La science et l'esprit qui gâtent les personnes.  
Ce sont choses, de soi, qui sont belles et bonnes.<sup>26</sup>

We cannot assert positively that Molière was thinking of the *Essais* here, but Clitandre so often echoes Montaigne in this scene that we cannot ignore the possibility of his influence.

There is another celebrated reminder of the *Essais* in *Les Femmes Savantes*. Montaigne quotes a maxim attributed to Francis of Brittany: "qu'une femme estoit assez sçavante quand elle sçavoit mettre difference entre la chemise et le pourpoint de son mary."<sup>27</sup> Chrysale, in violent reaction against the overlearned women of his family, exclaims:

Nos pères, sur ce point, étoient gens bien sensés,  
Qui disoient qu'une femme en sait toujours assez  
Quand la capacité de son esprit se hausse  
A connoître un pourpoint d'avec un haut-de-chausse.<sup>28</sup>

Whether this is a direct borrowing from Montaigne or comes from some intermediate source, it hardly expresses Molière's view. Chrysale, though more sympathetic than the bluestockings, still is less reasonable than Clitandre, and a good many of Molière's plays (*L'Ecole des femmes*, *L'Ecole des maris*, and *Georges Dandin*, among others) bear witness to the folly of trying to anchor a woman to mere domestic chores. Molière's attitude reflects the trend of his century, which accorded women more freedom and more intellectual respect than did the Renaissance.

haps both. La Mothe le Vayer was strongly influenced by Montaigne and may have recalled him in this instance.

<sup>24</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 289: ". . . il y a ignorance abecedaire, qui va devant la science; une autre doctorale, qui vient aprez la science; ignorance que la science faict et engendre. . . ."

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 314.

<sup>26</sup> Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act IV, Scene 3.

<sup>27</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 108.

<sup>28</sup> Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act II, Scene 7. Florence L. Wickelgren, *La Mothe le Vayer, sa vie et son œuvre* (Paris, 1934), p. 18, quotes a passage from that author's *La Promenade en neufs dialogues*, including: "Car tout le monde n'est pas de l'humeur de ceux qui trouve une femme assez sçavante, quand elle sçait bien discerner le haut-de-chausse du pourpoint de son mari." This expression is closer to that of Chrysale than Montaigne's is. There is again the possibility of a secondhand borrowing from the essays if Molière had La Mothe le Vayer in mind; the anecdote was fairly commonplace and may have come from some other source.

Both *Les Femmes Savantes* and its early predecessor, *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, recall Montaigne's attack on extravagant refinement in language.<sup>29</sup> There is, however, no reason to believe that Montaigne was the inspiration for Molière's satire of preciosity. *Les Précieuses* shows no particular indication of Molière's having read the *Essais*; it is probably based simply on his observation of the current fashions. *Les Femmes Savantes* is much more complicated than its predecessor; we have shown several possible cases in it of reminiscences of the essays, and, as Boase points out, its plot is very like a passage from the essays and may have been partly inspired by Montaigne.<sup>30</sup>

In ridiculing the devastating effect of too much study, especially on small minds not able to profit by it, both authors remind us that not all education takes place in schools; the learning which comes from experience equals in value that which comes from books. The wisdom and cleverness of Molière's servants, often contrasted with the foolishness of their masters, illustrate Montaigne's famous observation: "J'ay veu en mon temps cent artisans, cent laboureurs, plus sages et plus heureux que des recteurs de l'université. . . ."<sup>31</sup> In his chapter "De l'Institution des Enfants," the essayist says of his student: "Il sondera la portee d'un chascun . . . car tout sert en mesnage; la sottise mesme et foiblesse d'aultruy luy sera instruction. . . ."<sup>32</sup> Ariste of *L'Ecole des maris* subscribes to this theory:

Et l'école du monde, en l'air dont il faut vivre,  
Instruit mieux à mon gré, que ne fait aucun livre.<sup>33</sup>

Earlier in the same speech Ariste had repeated another of Montaigne's ideas:

. . . je tiens sans cesse  
Qu'il nous faut en riant instruire la jeunesse,  
Reprendre ses défauts avec grande douceur,  
Et du nom de vertu ne lui point faire peur.<sup>34</sup>

Montaigne had deplored cruelty in the schools and wanted the model tutor to conduct education "par une severe douleur."<sup>35</sup> The similarity of Ariste's two remarks to those of Montaigne strongly suggests that Molière had the chapter on education in mind, although he may have been merely repeating ideas the essayist had popularized.

<sup>29</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 139.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 206. Boase, *op. cit.*, p. 393, quotes the passage at length. It includes several ideas brought out in *Les Femmes Savantes*, and it is very likely that Molière drew on it in part for his play.

<sup>31</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 452.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 122.

<sup>33</sup> Molière, *L'Ecole des maris*, Act I, Scene 2.

<sup>34</sup> Molière frequently applies to the education of girls the precepts of Montaigne, though the latter speaks primarily of the education of boys.

<sup>35</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 132.



Save for the difference in their stand on education for women,<sup>36</sup> Molière's educational theories, as glimpsed in his plays, coincide with Montaigne's. Each aimed at the creation of a well-rounded, intelligent, reasonable person. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Montaigne's ideal had become the generally accepted concept of *honnêteté*, and to please his audience Molière would have had to emphasize the principles of the *honnête homme*, even had he not by nature been inclined to approve of them.<sup>37</sup> Whether it be because of the spirit of his day or not, his moral outlook as shown in the plays closely resembles Montaigne's.

Reason rather than religion determines our daily life, according to both authors, and each one points a purely secular moral, unacceptable to the deeply pious, but still firm and disciplined. The setting aside of religion does not necessarily mean that either one was an irreligious person. The question of the religious persuasion of both writers has been endlessly debated, and their scoring of superstition and facile beliefs has often been interpreted as subtle criticism of Church and clergy. We can scarcely hope to establish beyond doubt their personal feelings; probably each one held varying beliefs during his life. Neither ever championed the Faith, yet both circumspectly followed the forms of the Church, at the same time warning against an overzealous devotion. André Gide has aptly summed up their views as nearly as we can discern them: "L'attitude de Montaigne en face de la religion est déjà presque celle de Molière. Sans doute révére-t-il la véritable; mais peut-être point tant qu'il ne suspecte la fause. . . ."<sup>38</sup> The essays and comedies both dwell on temporal virtues rather than on spiritual salvation.

The prime rule of conduct which both authors emphasize repeatedly is that we must apply intelligence and judgment to every situation and that reason will always counsel a middle course; constant moderation and self-control is the basis of good and pleasant living. Molière, in the preface to *Tartuffe*, attacks all excess: "Il n'y a chose si innocente où les hommes ne puissent porter au crime . . . rien de si bon en soi qu'ils ne puissent tourner à de mauvais usages."<sup>39</sup> Montaigne, too, had expressed the same opinion: "Comme si nous avions

<sup>36</sup> Had Montaigne lived a century later, it is quite possible that he would have revised his theories regarding women's education; for his day his ideas were very liberal.

<sup>37</sup> Pierre Villey, *Montaigne devant la postérité* (Paris, 1935), pp. 308-41, discusses "Montaigne et l'idée de l'honnête homme," noting references to the essays in seventeenth-century works on *honnêteté*. See also M. Magendie, *La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle de 1600 à 1666* (Paris, 1925), pp. 386-93.

<sup>38</sup> André Gide, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. L. Martin-Chauffier (Paris, 1932-39), XV, 36.

<sup>39</sup> Molière, *Œuvres complètes*, nouvelle édition . . . par M. Félix Le-maître (Paris, n.d.), II, 309. Molière's statement may be interpreted as self-justification in reply to the critics of *Tartuffe*; however, it is the theme implied or expressed by various persons and situations throughout the play.



l'attouchement infect, nous corrompons par nostre maniement les choses qui d'elles mesmes sont belles et bonnes."<sup>40</sup> Molière's characters suffer because of some type of exaggeration; the man who is carried away by his emotions, or even by his ideals, inevitably becomes unhappy and usually ridiculous. Sometimes mere imagination, which Montaigne had said makes things loom larger than they are,<sup>41</sup> is the root of all the trouble—as in the case of Don Garcie, Arnolphe, Harpagon, Bélise, Argan, and all Molière's other victims of their own illusions.

An illustration of carrying a good quality too far is the case of the prudes. Montaigne had much distrusted an excessive virtuousness and mocked the prudery of age. Dorine in *Tartuffe*, Célimène in *Le Misanthrope*, and Dorante of *La Critique de l'école des femmes*, all imply that prudes condemn by envy rather than by moral superiority; their remarks express a similarity of attitude rather than any direct debt to Montaigne.

Both authors had a natural aversion to prudes, for both believed that corporal pleasures play a major role in a full and rich life. Montaigne announces on several occasions his conviction that temperance is more reasonable, more the wise course, than abstinence.<sup>42</sup> Molière, who is always on the side of youth and nature, upholds this opinion, especially in *Les Précieuses Ridicules* and more significantly in *Les Femmes Savantes*. In the latter, Henriette defends her desire for a happy marriage: "Ce nœud bien assorti n'a-t-il pas des appas?"<sup>43</sup> and Clitandre replies to the priggish Armande:

De ces détachements je ne connais pas l'art;  
Le ciel m'a dénié cette philosophie,  
Et mon âme et mon corps marchent de compagnie. . . .<sup>44</sup>

In view of the many possible borrowings from the *Essais* in *Les Femmes Savantes*, we may surmise that Molière was again thinking of Montaigne in this case.

Another type of excess is avarice, overestimating the value of money and material possessions. Montaigne decries the injustice of a rich and greedy father who, by refusing to share with his children the wealth he cannot enjoy, drives them to seek money by dubious methods—a situation very like that of Harpagon and Cléante.<sup>45</sup> Molière may have had the essays in mind as he planned *L'Avare*, as well as the two earlier plays in which he treats the same subject in a much lighter vein, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* and *L'Etourdi*.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 171.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 341.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 34, 278, 500-01, are typical expressions of this conviction, and there are many others scattered throughout the *Essais*.

<sup>43</sup> Molière, *Les Femmes Savantes*, Act I, Scene 1.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, Act IV, Scene 1.

<sup>45</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 355.

<sup>46</sup> Molière, *L'Etourdi*, Act I, Scene 2; Mascarille tells his master:

"... Que monsieur votre père/ Est un autre vilain qui ne vous laisse pas/

The course of reason applies not merely to avoiding exaggerated conduct, but to recognizing and accepting the inconsistencies of our fellow men. Montaigne speaks often of inconsistency as man's dominant trait: "... un homme de bonnes mœurs peult avoir des opinions faulses," he says, "et un meschant peult prescher verité, voire celuy qui ne la croit pas. . . ."<sup>47</sup> How well these words describe Orgon and Tartuffe! Dorante, whom we have already heard rephrase Montaigne's remarks, uses the same idea: "il n'est pas incompatible qu'une personne soit ridicule en de certaines choses, et honnête homme en d'autres."<sup>48</sup> The reverse is also true; Montaigne repeats Aristotle: "qu'aucune ame excellente n'est exempte de meslange de folie."<sup>49</sup> Valère of *Le Médecin malgré lui* echoes Montaigne so closely that he may be quoting him: "C'est une chose admirable que tous les grands hommes ont toujours du caprice, quelque petit grain de folie mêlé à leur science."<sup>50</sup> These differences depend on personality, not social rank, Montaigne had said (in a remarkably democratic statement for a sixteenth-century aristocrat),<sup>51</sup> and once again it is Molière's servants who put the essayist's words into action. Of course, we cannot ascribe the servants to Montaigne's influence; at most they reflect a kindred attitude on the part of both authors toward the vagaries of human nature.

In accepting man's diversity, one must accept also custom, which arises from it. It is better to ignore the evils of society and man's small vices than to dedicate one's energies to the impossible task of remaking mankind and the world. This point of view, so irritating to the ardent reformer like Rousseau, is the basis of *Le Misanthrope* and had already been announced by Ariste in *L'Ecole des maris*:

Toujours au plus grand nombre on doit s'accorder

N'y rien trop affecter, et sans empressement,  
Suivre ce que l'usage y fait de changement.

. . . il vaut mieux souffrir d'être au nombre de fous  
Que du sage parti se voir seul contre tous.<sup>52</sup>

Ariste's remarks are very like a passage from the essays:

. . . il me semble que toutes façons escartées et particulieres partent plustost de folie ou d'affectation ambitieuse, que de vraye raison . . . c'est la regle

Comme vous voudriez bien, manier ses ducats:/ Qu'il n'est point de ressort qui, pour votre ressource,/ Pût faire maintenant ouvrir la moindre bourse."

<sup>47</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 103.

<sup>48</sup> Molière, *La Critique de l'Ecole des femmes*, Scene 7.

<sup>49</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 320.

<sup>50</sup> Molière, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, Act I, Scene 5.

<sup>51</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 244: "... si nous considerons un païsan et un roy, un noble et un vilain, un magistrat et un homme privé, un riche et un pauvre, il se presente soubdain à nos yeulx une extreme disparité, qui ne sont differents, par manière de dire, qu'en leurs chausses."

<sup>52</sup> Molière, *L'Ecole des maris*, Act I, Scene 1.

des regles, et generale loye des loix, que chacun observe celle du lieu ou il est. . . .<sup>83</sup>

Alceste, who represents the anti-social man, cannot get along in the world, because his eagerness to have everyone else meet his standards makes him too outspoken. "Il ne fault pas toujours dire tout," counsels the essayist,<sup>84</sup> and Alceste's friend Philinte repeats this advice:

Et parfois, n'en déplaie à votre austère honneur,  
Il est bon de cacher ce qu'on a dans le cœur.<sup>85</sup>

He further warns that:

Le monde par vos soins ne se changera pas:  
Et puisque la franchise a pour vous tant d'appas,  
Je vous dirai tout franc que cette maladie  
Partout où vous allez donne la comédie.<sup>86</sup>

This is even closer to Montaigne:

La sottise est une mauvaise qualité; mais de ne la pouvoir supporter, et s'en desputer et ronger, comme il m'advient, c'est une aultre sorte de maladie qui ne doit gueres à la sottise en importunité. . . .<sup>87</sup>

Alceste himself recalls Montaigne in explaining that he cannot succeed at court because he is too sincere and has no flair for light conversation.<sup>88</sup> The number of reminiscences of the essays in *Le Misanthrope* leads us to suppose that Montaigne should be included among the sources of the play.

From all the foregoing passages, it is evident that the *Essais* played an important part in Molière's development. Despite differences in social rank, epoch, environment, medium, and style, the two authors agree on so many points that it cannot be pure coincidence. Naturally Molière did not adopt completely and thoughtlessly Montaigne's entire philosophy. The diversity of his sources—in itself comparable to Montaigne's wide-ranging interest—makes it almost impossible to state absolutely that any particular line comes directly from the essays. The dramatist was no doubt familiar with the various books which carried on Montaigne's principles in the seventeenth century (notably those of Charron, La Mothe le Vayer, and Gassendi) and had probably heard his freethinking friends discuss the fashionable *Essais*.

<sup>83</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, I, 86-87.

<sup>84</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 43.

<sup>85</sup> Molière, *Le Misanthrope*, Act I, Scene 1.

<sup>86</sup> Sells, *loc. cit.*, p. 358, compares passages from *La Prose Chagrine* of La Mothe le Vayer to this and the preceding quotation. Alceste's disgust with the world very much resembles that of La Mothe, and Molière may have been thinking of both him and Montaigne as he wrote *Le Misanthrope*; in the second quotation the word "maladie" used by both Molière and Montaigne does not appear in the selection from *La Prose Chagrine*.

<sup>87</sup> Montaigne, *Essais*, II, 309.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 32. Molière, *Le Misanthrope*, Act III, Scene 7.

Almost every one of Molière's comedies (with the exception of *Mélicerte* and other spectacles concocted for court festivals) contains some passage related to ideas in the *Essais*. Most of these are so commonplace that we cannot establish their source. In some cases there are possible borrowings, though they may not have come firsthand from Montaigne. This group includes: *L'Ecole des femmes* (1662), *La Critique de l'école des femmes* (1663), *Le Médecin malgré lui* (1666), *Tartuffe* (1669),<sup>89</sup> *L'Avare* (1669), and *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (1671). Then there are a few comedies which present so many ideas or expressions so close to Montaigne's that we may justifiably conclude that Molière had the essayist in mind while writing *L'Ecole des maris* (1661), *L'Amour Médecin* (1665), *Le Misanthrope* (1666), *Les Femmes Savantes* (1672), and *Le Malade Imaginaire* (1673).

The dates of the plays in the two latter groups suggest that Molière became familiar with the *Essais* a year or two after his return to Paris in 1658, for he begins to reveal definite knowledge of them in 1661. The number of his later plays which show a nearly unquestionable indebtedness to the essays permits us to advance the theory that he reread them, perhaps about the time he was composing *L'Avare*, and probably referred to them several times; surely it is a close association with Montaigne's ideas which appears in *Les Femmes Savantes* and *Le Malade Imaginaire*, not the vague remembrance of something read ten years before. And what more natural than that Molière, as his own illness progressed, should seek relaxation, consolation perhaps, in the wit and wisdom and fortitude of Montaigne?

The borrowings from Montaigne lie near the core of Molière's work. The characters who most frequently and clearly express Montaigne's ideas are the *raisonneurs*—Ariste in *L'Ecole des maris*, Dorante, Philinte, Cléante in *Tartuffe*, Clitandre, and Béralde. Though not particularly colorful or amusing persons in themselves, their amiable, cultivated reasonableness—the ideal of Molière and of the classic period in general—contrasts effectively with the unreason of the ridiculous characters. Through their charming urbanity Molière can instruct without any didactic preaching. In a less polished and more lively fashion, these same thoughts are pointed out by the servants, who are usually witty, sympathetic characters. The only unscrupulous person who speaks with Montaigne's words is M. Filerin, and even he is more intelligent, more perceptive than his colleagues.

The ideas from the *Essais* which reappear in the comedies are those which appeal to the common sense of all ages. They are important for the lessons which Molière teaches and give a deeper

<sup>89</sup> This date refers to the revised version of the play, since the earlier version is unknown.

meaning to his satire of professional attributes and human foibles; they form part of the intellectual dignity which has lifted his comedies above the simple "comedy of manners" level. It is in the plays which are generally accepted as Molière's greatest that we find the most of Montaigne; these are the comedies into which Molière put his most serious effort and which he designed not as farce or court frivolity, but as entertainment for thoughtful, intelligent persons.

Certainly we cannot say that without Montaigne Molière's plays would not have lived; his eternal popularity depends on many varied qualities, on the adroit handling of so many sources that the lack of one, no matter how important, could not jeopardize it. But had Molière not known well his copy of the *Essais*, and had he not been familiar with the current ideas regarding Montaigne, the comedies would have lost some of their significance and some of their outstanding position in literature. He is indebted to Montaigne, both directly and indirectly, for much of the philosophical expression which distinguishes his comedies, comedies which one feels Montaigne would have heartily approved and thoroughly enjoyed.

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## A POSSIBLE DICKENS INFLUENCE IN ZOLA

By STUART ATKINS

The theories of French naturalism are so unlike the practices of earlier nineteenth-century literary movements that it has sometimes been forgotten how much the individual naturalistic writer has in common with his predecessors. Of Zola, a critic aware of his shortcomings but not hostile to his achievements wrote: "Les vraies origines de M. Zola doivent se chercher bien plus dans les *Misérables* que dans *Madame Bovary*."<sup>1</sup> The criterion of objectivity led the naturalist to eliminate from literature those subjective elements which had survived realism and to produce works in which the humanitarian sentimentality of a Hugo or a Dickens are conspicuously absent. The eternal conflict between good and evil remained, but the positivist ideal demanded that it be portrayed impersonally. Zola accordingly prefixed to the second edition of *Thérèse Raquin*<sup>2</sup> Taine's words, "Le vice et la vertu sont des produits comme le vitriol et le sucre." This did not mean an indifference to right and wrong, as Zola's life and even his writings were to reveal, although it did result in an absence of explicit social criticism such as is characteristic of Dickens' work.

Dickens, who was long depreciated as a sentimental humanitarian, is now recognized as one of the greatest humorists and portraitists, but his works, whose unifying element, according to Cazamian, is *le sentiment social*,<sup>3</sup> constitute a monumental study of the society in which he lived, a study fully comparable to the one Zola more consciously constructed.<sup>4</sup> The moral and social purpose of Dickens' writing has its analogue in Zola's early letters (especially those addressed to Jean-Baptiste Baille), and in *Trois Villes*, *Fécondité*, *Travail*, and the famous *L'Accuse*. Zola's definition of art as "la nature

<sup>1</sup> G. Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, 23<sup>e</sup> éd. (Paris, n.d.), p. 994.

<sup>2</sup> Except when otherwise indicated, reference is to the novel *Thérèse Raquin* (Paris, 1868 [i.e., 1867]). All Zola references are to *Les Œuvres complètes, notes et commentaires de Maurice Le Blond* (Paris, 1927-29).

<sup>3</sup> É. Legouis and L. Cazamian, *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd. (Paris, n.d.), pp. 1074-75: "... le sentiment qui l'anime [son œuvre] est social. C'est par là qu'il fait corps avec un ensemble. . . ." H. Taine, as a contemporary, was rather aware of Dickens' sentimentality: "Au fond, les romans de Dickens se réduisent à une phrase, et la voici: Soyez bons et aimez; il n'y a de vraie joie que dans les émotions du cœur; la sensibilité est tout l'homme" (*Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, Livre V, Ch. I [V, 63, in 1878 edition]).

<sup>4</sup> Dickens did not achieve a complete picture of English society; much that he described was not contemporary, and certain classes are unsatisfactorily represented. But if Dickens was more a sociologist than he realized, Zola was less so than he thought. Lanson justly observes that Zola's works fail to give the general impression of a vast social ensemble produced by Balzac's "Comédie humaine" (*op. cit.*, p. 1079).

vue à travers un tempérament" is particularly applicable to the creative method of Dickens. Both novelists lay great emphasis on milieu, both are masters of descriptive prose. The characters of Dickens and Daudet may have in common colorful individualization, but many of Dickens' characters, like those of Zola, are also symbolic types. The one profound difference is that Zola lacks Dickens' humane humor.<sup>5</sup>

The relationship of Dickens and Zola, not mentioned in Matthew Josephson's Zola biography, is apparently touched on only once in Zola criticism. Edmond Lepelletier, analyzing the change in Zola's writing which becomes apparent toward the time of *Thérèse Raquin*, writes:

Il [Zola] eut la vision, presque soudaine, d'un autre concept littéraire que celui du romantisme, pour le sujet, le décor et la facture. La lecture de *Stendhal*, de *Mérimée*, fut pour beaucoup dans cette évolution, que précisa la fréquentation de Taine. Les études du minutieux critique sur la littérature anglaise, la netteté avec laquelle Charles Dickens et ses procédés étaient notés et mis en lumière durent agir fortement sur son œuvre.<sup>6</sup>

He then discusses techniques such as the magnification of detail and the use of sympathetic natural phenomena (Ruskin's "pathetic fallacy") which are common to both novelists, basing his comparisons on *Hard Times* and *Germinal*.<sup>7</sup> Although Lepelletier differentiates clearly between Zola's treatment of character and that of Dickens,<sup>8</sup> he here insists that *rapprochement* on the basis of similarity of technique is more fundamental than one based on common sentimentality and coincidence of subject matter (Dickens and Daudet).<sup>9</sup> The change that Lepelletier observed in Zola's work of about 1868 reflects theoretical conclusions which were reached as early as 1864 and were formulated in *L'Ecran*, an acceptance of realism.<sup>10</sup> Zola's temporary indifference to the choice between positivism and idealism is superseded before the end of 1866 by full adherence to Taine's positivistic method as outlined in Zola's *Une Définition du roman*.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Zola simultaneously reveals both his moral sense and his lack of a sense of humor in this statement: "Je nie que dans Molière il y ait de la gaieté . . . tous les types qu'il a créés sont humains, c'est à dire plutôt mauvais que bons" (Préface, *Les Héritiers Rabourdin*).

<sup>6</sup> *Emile Zola, sa vie—son œuvre* (Paris, 1908), p. 215.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 216 (cf. also p. 278).

<sup>8</sup> Zola's types and Dickens' *caractères*, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> One isolated comparison of Zola with Dickens is to be found printed on the title page of John Sterling's translation of *Thérèse Raquin* (Philadelphia, 1881): "his description of French life . . . equal to anything ever written by Dickens."

<sup>10</sup> Letters to Valabrègue, *Correspondance, 1858-1871*.

<sup>11</sup> Letter to Valabrègue, 10 décembre 1866, *ibid.* Quotations from "Une Définition du roman" are given in the notes to *Le Roman expérimental*, pp. 334 ff. Taine discusses only Dickens and Thackeray in "Les Contemporains" (i.e., *Histoire de la littérature anglaise*, Livre V) when analyzing the contemporary English novel.



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Such is the complete genesis of *Thérèse Raquin* if the important fact is disregarded that the novel has a third protagonist, Madame Raquin, who, unlike her murdered son (the completely insignificant and almost completely passive victim), does not figure at all in *Un Mariage d'amour*. It is she who has spoiled her son Camille, it is she who plans his marriage to her niece and ward Thérèse, and it is she who dominates the final scenes of the novel as, completely paralyzed, she watches the final moral disintegration and ultimate suicide of Thérèse and Laurent, the once-cherished couple she has helplessly hated as the murderers of her son.

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. . . and she never from that hour moved so much as a finger again, or had the power to speak one word. For upward of three years she reclined in her wheeled chair, looking attentively at those about her, and appearing to understand what they said; but, the rigid silence she had so long held was evermore enforced upon her, and, except that she could move her eyes and faintly express a negative and affirmative with her head, she lived and died a statue (II, 451).

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The resemblance between the two paralytics is more than physical; both are in some degree responsible for the evil that exists about

them. Madame Raquin has spoiled her son and ignored the real temperament of her adopted daughter, as Thérèse actually is. Mrs. Clennam is a righteous but hard woman who has forced her husband and the mother of his child to entrust Arthur to her, and so she has built a house of lies which is eventually her undoing. She enjoys no one's affection, not even that of Arthur, whom she has raised as her own son. In the watch sent her by her dying husband are the letters D.N.F. ("Do Not Forget"), an exhortation to make amends for the hurt she has done Arthur's mother. She has not forgotten, but her god is one of vengeance, and she remains implacable. After the formerly gentle Madame Raquin has learned the real nature of Thérèse and Laurent, she becomes like Mrs. Clennam: "Il fit noir en elle; elle sentit naître dans sa chair mourante un nouvel être, impitoyable et cruel, qui aurait voulu mordre les assassins de son fils" (p. 180). At one point, realizing that she cannot hope to avenge her son, Madame Raquin resolves to die of hunger. Then she realizes that "pour bien dormir du sommeil de la mort, il lui fallait s'assoupir dans la joie cuisante de la vengeance, il lui fallait emporter un rêve de haine satisfaite, un rêve qu'elle ferait pendant l'éternité" (p. 208), and lets herself again be fed. Even as Mrs. Clennam finally becomes completely like Madame Raquin physically, so does Madame Raquin become dominated by the same obsession with vengeance that characterizes her English counterpart.

Both *Little Dorrit* and *Thérèse Raquin* have one dramatic high point, and in both it involves the same psycho-physical forces. It was the custom at Madame Raquin's, both before and after her stroke, to receive an unchanging group of friends every Thursday evening. The first Thursday after she has learned that Camille was murdered, Madame Raquin makes a supreme effort to communicate with those present. She manages to raise her right hand from her knee to the table and attracts attention by feebly moving her fingers. It is realized that she is trying to say something, but it is first thought she wants to play dominoes, then that she is advising how to play, and only after some time does someone see that she is tracing the name of Thérèse on the oilcloth. She succeeds in writing "Thérèse et Laurent ont" before her strength gives out, and the assembled company accepts the interpretation of the guest who completes the sentence with "bien soin de moi" (pp. 185 ff.). From this moment on she is the passive witness of the scenes that lead to the *dénouement*. Mrs. Clennam has failed to fulfill certain obligations towards Arthur's mother. This secret is known to a French blackmailer and assassin. At his first visit to her, Mrs. Clennam watches him intently, and from then on she is always expecting his next call, which gives her an air of resolute waiting (II, 252). In her presence and that of witnesses, he begins to reveal the past, but she takes over the narrative. As she justi-

fies her actions, recounting her husband's premarital unfaithfulness, "more than once [she] struck her clinched hand vigorously upon the table" and then she raises her whole arm (II, 430). The moment comes when she puts her hands to her head, utters a loud exclamation, and starts to her feet. "She staggered . . . and then stood firm." She is so rigid that "It was, to all three [watching her], almost as if a dead woman had risen" (II, 439-40). Taking a hood or shawl, she runs out wildly, goes through the streets to Marshalsea Prison (where Arthur Clennam has been placed for insolvency), and then, her trip having been in vain, she runs back to her ancient house, which collapses as she approaches it (II, 440-51). "Mrs. Clennam dropped upon the [paving] stones, and she never from that hour moved so much as a finger again . . ." (II, 451).

Both in the small apartment of Madame Raquin and in Mrs. Clennam's old house there is cheerless obscurity. Since there is no atmosphere of milieu in *Un Mariage d'amour*, Zola may either consciously or unconsciously have been influenced by Dickens in his choice of what is represented to be one of the oldest and darkest sections of nineteenth-century Paris as the setting for the greater part of *Thérèse Raquin*. Madame Raquin, exposed to "la clarté crue" of the table lamp, while Laurent and Thérèse stay in the shadow that its shade casts (p. 174), is a picture with a chiaroscuro quality characteristic of the little shop she used to tend downstairs and so described by Zola in the opening paragraphs of his novel. The play of light and shadow is used by Dickens to emphasize the cheerlessness of Mrs. Clennam; the light in her window is seen before she is herself presented (I, 43), and the fire in her room produces "changing distortions of herself" against other objects (I, 218).

Certain minor details in *Little Dorrit* suggest its thematic association with *Thérèse Raquin*. A husband raises his hand against his wife, a kindly but ineffectual woman.<sup>13</sup> There is a suspicion of murder against Mrs. Clennam and her trusted partner.<sup>14</sup> The routine of a large office is described.<sup>15</sup> More fundamental, in both novels there is a sense of the inevitable vengeance of destiny; it gives Madame Raquin the strength to keep on living, and it frustrates Mrs. Clennam's whole existence. Zola's concept of conscience as exemplified by Laurent and Thérèse is not unlike that of Dickens, so many of

<sup>13</sup> Laurent strikes Thérèse. The ineffectual Mrs. Flintwinch loses her timidity when the moment comes to lay bare the crimes of her husband and Mrs. Clennam, a change less well motivated than that of Madame Raquin from mildness to hardness.

<sup>14</sup> The temporary disappearance of the blackmailer leads to police investigation. Laurent and Thérèse have a keen interest in the question whether murder will out, which is discussed with one of the regular Thursday-evening guests who is connected with the police.

<sup>15</sup> The Circumlocution Office is described at length in *Little Dorrit*. Laurent meets Camille while working in the same office (both engaged as very minor functionaries).

whose villains repent when they have served their purpose. As Sainte-Beuve wrote to Zola, the passion of these two was not such that it could so quickly turn to remorse and *refroidissement*.<sup>16</sup> This kind of melodramatic psychology is characteristic of most sentimental and romantic literature.<sup>17</sup>

Examination of Zola's drama *Thérèse Raquin* (1873) and its stage history serves to justify the emphasis that has here been placed on the role of Madame Raquin. Her thoughts and feelings do much to heighten the dramatic interest of the last scenes of the novel. In the play, she is a mute figure; her providential recovery of speech at the end is extraneous to the theatrical action, and does not compensate for the absence of concise statements of her mental and psychic reactions to the constant changes of dramatic situation.<sup>18</sup> The play, which is thus at best only a naturalistic melodrama, was not a success either in France or in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

As Zola matured, his literary reading became quantitatively smaller, so that direct literary influences are hardly to be looked for in the novels of his strictly naturalistic period. "Dickens and Zola" is nonetheless a topic rich in implications. The plot of *Thérèse Raquin* is a *fait divers*, but the technique used to treat it became that of *Les Rougon-Macquart*. It remains for whoever so sees fit to determine to what degree this technique was crystallized, not only under the influence of Taine's general theory of literature, but also under the specific influence of the prose of Charles Dickens.

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<sup>16</sup> Letter of 10 juin 1868. Quoted, *Thérèse Raquin*, pp. 250-52.

<sup>17</sup> Lanson, *op. cit.*, p. 1080, has pointed out that Zola is psychologically "avant tout un romantique."

<sup>18</sup> Zola inserted this final speech for the actress who played the otherwise thankless part of Madame Raquin. Even without it, the play is less naturalistic than the novel. The romantic element in Zola's dramas is emphasized by R. Oehlert, "E. Zola als Theaterdichter, mit einer Einleitung, über den Naturalismus im französischen Drama," *Romanische Studien* 17 (Berlin, 1920).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Oehlert, *loc. cit.*, for the performance in Paris, July, 1873. Bertha Kalich performed *Thérèse Raquin* in H. G. Fiske's translation in Washington, March, 1906, but "there was absence of anything like genuine enthusiasm in the house" (*New York Times*, March 4, 1906). In the unsuccessful adaptation of 1945 (*Thérèse*, by Thomas Job), the Madame Raquin role was given great importance (*New York Times*, October 10, p. 24, and October 28, Sect. II, p. 1).



## CONTEMPORARY PAMPHLET BACKGROUNDS FOR MARLOWE'S *THE MASSACRE AT PARIS*. PART TWO

By PAUL H. KOCHER

### III

Certainly the most interesting part of this subject is the question of the extent to which Marlowe had outside suggestion for the character of Guise. And one does not have to read far into contemporary discussions of French politics to become aware that the playwright has caught up from them almost every single detail of the nature, policy, and condition of his mighty villain, granted always that the creative will which fuses them into a single conception is Marlowe's own.

The one grand aim of the Duke's policy is defined early in the drama as "the diadem of France" (II, 44). Between him and the throne stand not only several brothers of the ruling House of Valois, including the King himself, but also the House of Bourbon, the next legitimate heirs, headed by Navarre (II, 92-97). His only chance of removing these obstacles is to trouble the kingdom with civil wars, "never-dying flames / Which cannot be extinguish'd but by blood" (II, 35-36). Although a contemptuous atheist at heart (II, 66-69), he feigns a burning Catholic zeal and a consequent desire to root out the Protestant heresy by force of arms. Under this pretext he is able to form the Holy League with the support of the French clergy (II, 80 ff.), the common people of Paris, the Pope, and Philip of Spain. It affords him also an excuse to attack his Bourbon enemies, for Navarre is the Huguenot leader. With the help of the Queen Mother and the Cardinal of Lorraine, he succeeds in persuading the King to regard the League armies as friendly (XI), and even to join them in the crusade against the heretics. Meanwhile, to strengthen his claim, Guise has "often pleaded kindred to the king" (II, 51). He also manages to dispose of Alençon (XVIII, 107). The defeat of Henry's army under Joyeux does not weaken the position of Guise, which is so strong that he completely dictates to the King. He is only waiting a propitious moment to murder Henry or place him helplessly in a monastery (XVIII, 111-12), and to assume openly the royal power he already enjoys *de facto*. But Henry, taking alarm just in time, anticipates his guile by destroying him first.

That Guise was grasping at the crown was a fundamental tenet in all Protestant interpretations of his character. Navarre reiterated this charge constantly as his best weapon for turning the royalists and the League against each other. For him De Mornay prepared in

1585 a manifesto, *Inconveniens de la paix faite avec la ligue*, which reads in part:

Ne doute ledit Seigneur Roi de Navarre, que tous les bons sujets du Roi, n'aient evidemment connu le but, & pretention des Chefs de la Ligue en ceste guerre, asçavoir la dissipation totale de l'Estat pour en tirer a eux quelque piece. Que ce qu'ils l'ont maintenant convertie contre ceux de ladite Religion, n'a point aussi esté changement de dessein, mais changement de façon pour y parvenir, asçavoir en demeurant armés pour donner la loi au Roi, la mort duquel ils attendent, & exterminant, ou affoiblissant sous ombre de Religion la maison de France en la race de Bourbon, de laquelle aiant abbatu le Chef, ils feroient estat d'avoir bien tost la raison des autres membres. . . .<sup>76</sup>

M. Hurault, one of the coolest heads in the Huguenot party, speaks unequivocally in *A Discourse upon the present estate of France*:

Wel, to conclude this matter: the D. of Guizes intent is to be king if he can, his proceedings and meanes are the ciuill wars and diuision of the french catholikes against the protestants, whereby he becommeth capitaine of the first, with whome hee is in greater credite then the king himselfe, or any catholike Prince of the blood. . . . But the verie worst that I can see in this practise is that hee can in no sort beare with the kings long life, wherof he had need to take heed. . . .<sup>77</sup>

The atheism of the Guises is often excoriated, as when the *Contre-Guyse* calls them men "who haue no other God but ambition, no other king but Auarice, ne any other religion then desire of gain . . . ."<sup>78</sup> or *A Legendarie . . . of the house of Guise* says their "workes haue always shewed that ambition is their God, couetousnes their religion. . . ."<sup>79</sup> One more selection, from the *Anti-Sixtus*, must suffice on the point of religion:

In the yeeere 1585 . . . the Duke of Guise withall the house of Lorraine hauing conspired together, take the weapons in hande, the only cause therof was a croune, their cloake and probable occasion, pietye & religion, a care for the realme, now ill gouerned, a pitte to see the commontie with exactions pould and oppressed. . . .<sup>80</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Memoires* of De Mornay, I, 515. Similar expositions of the scheme of the Guises to annihilate the whole house of Bourbon and their use of civil war to this end will be found in *A Catholique Apologie Against the Libels . . . published by those of the League*, by Pierre de Belloy (London, n.d.), fols. 35<sup>v</sup> and 36<sup>r</sup>; *Anti-Sixtus*, pp. 14-15; *Contre-Guyse*, fol. D4<sup>v</sup>; Colynet, p. 3, and other books.

<sup>77</sup> In the same vein are *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman*, p. 57; *The Discoverer of France to the Parisians . . .*, tr. E. A. (London, 1590), p. 4, and countless others on the Protestant side. League writings, of course, fiercely denied every item in the indictment. For them Guise was a patriot and devout protector of the Church, seeking no gain for himself and forming the League only as a legitimate defensive measure against the encroaching Protestants. He was always loyal to the King: *La Vie et innocence des deux freres* (Paris, 1589), pp. 24 ff.; *La Vie . . . de Henry de Valois*, p. 75.

<sup>78</sup> Fol. C2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>79</sup> By Francis de L'Isle (pseud. for Louis La Planche) ([Geneva?], 1577), fol. 14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> Pp. 18-19. *A Letter, written by a french Catholique gentleman*, p. 7, speaks of the Guises' "visard of religion." Strong expressions occur in *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman*, pp. 5, 15; Hurault, *A Discourse*, p. 12; Colynet, p. 3 et passim; *A Catholique Apologie . . .*, fol. 35<sup>r</sup>. This was the official attitude taken by Navarre himself in "Lettre . . . a Messieurs de la Sorbonne" (1585). *Memoires* of De Mornay, I, 571.



The pamphlet backgrounds for Guise's hypocritical assurances of loyalty to the king have already been sufficiently displayed in the analysis of Scene XVI *supra*. Henry's statement that Guise's real purpose was "to make me monk, / Or else to murder me and so be king" (XVIII, 111-12) is borne out, among many other publications, by Colynet:

The Duke of Guize . . . with his power shall destroy all, shall take the King and his mother, eyther put them in Monkeries, or els to rid them out of this world. . . .<sup>81</sup>

The further statement that Guise "injured" Alençon (XVIII, 107), the heir to the throne, alludes to several attempts on Alençon's life culminating in his death by poison, all supposedly instigated by the League chieftain.<sup>82</sup> Guise's claim of kinship to the King (II, 51) and membership in the House of Valois (XVI, 31) has some justification in the fact that Mary, Queen of Scots, a cousin of his, had married Francis II, Henry's elder brother.<sup>83</sup>

Marlowe also had reason for bestowing on Guise a cunning political servility (II, 49), as the following quotation from *An Excellent Discourse* indicates:

[Guise] among his other qualities had one most proper to his purposes, and that was a kind of facility, gentleness, and popularity, the inseparable companions of ambition. To the end to ouersway the mightie of the realme, hee stooped to the inferiors: from one end of the street to an other he woulde go with cap in hand, saluting either with heade, hande, or word euen the meanest.<sup>84</sup>

Henry's taunt to Guise that "all France knows how poor a duke thou art" (XVI, 40) is founded on the frequent pamphlet statement that the Duke's personal fortune had been exhausted by his intrigues, as in the remark of Hurault that "he is extreme poore, and indetted, the seconde token of a man that commonly aspireth unto nouelties."<sup>85</sup> The other part of Henry's taunt, the aid drawn by Guise from the Pope and from Spain, brings us to a discussion of the Duke's foreign alliances.

<sup>81</sup> P. 8. *Contre-League*, p. 71; *The Reformed Politicke*, p. 34.

<sup>82</sup> These included the unsuccessful attack on Alençon by Salcedo and finally the successful poisoning of him by his mistress: *The Discoverer of France*, p. 3; *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. E4<sup>v</sup>; Colynet, p. 16; Hurault, *A Discourse*, p. 11. Hurault also suggests that Alençon's plots in Flanders were betrayed to Spain by Guise, a suggestion accepted by *A Catholique Apologie*, fol. 97<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>83</sup> In the time of Francis II the Guises "were comonly called the King's Uncles," declares Jean de Serres, *The Lyfe of Iasper Colignie Shatilion*, tr. A. Golding (London, 1576), fol. B1<sup>v</sup>. Also *Contre-League*, p. 63; *A Legendarie*, fol. D4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>84</sup> Fol. 15<sup>r</sup>. Hurault, *A Discourse*, p. 9, estimates Guise to be "Full of dissimulation, verie warie and discreete, and greater then al the rest of his faction." Also *Anti-Sixtus*, p. 18.

<sup>85</sup> *A Discourse*, p. 36. *Contre-Guyse*, fol. L3<sup>v</sup>. And see the next quotation from *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman*, p. 22.

Marlowe's analysis of the dealings of Guise with Philip of Spain is of the vaguest. Guise several times boasts of receiving "Indian gold" from him. Parma is once invoked as an ally (XVIII, 83). It is said that Guise has used a Spanish fleet as a threat against Henry (XVIII, 105-06). Navarre's territories around Pampeluna are being wrongfully withheld from him by Spain (X, 45-47). In some vague way the Pope and Philip are plotting horrible things together (XIII, 12-13). All this amounts to little more than using Spain as a hateful name to provoke easy hisses in an English theatre. However, the details mentioned, such as they are, can be readily substantiated.

Several of them are combined in this passage in *An Advertisement from a French Gentleman*:

Let us iudge aright of this conspiracie, whether it can come from any other but from Spayne. It is known that the Duke of Guise is in debt more then his habilitie can answer, and notwithstanding he hath of late distributed great summes of money through this Realme, and all in Pistolets. . . . From whence can this great treasure come, considering what coyne it is? And by whom can these troubles be mooued, but from & by the counsell of Spayne? He was to be assisted with the forces of the Prince of Parma, from whom hee should haue receiued Lance-knights and certeine companies of horsemen. . . .<sup>86</sup>

*A Caueat for France* is one of several pamphlets that describe how the Guises used the Spanish fleet as a threat to force Henry III to favor the League in 1585:

Whereupō, before the blow they practised with the king of Spaine: they got great sums of mony from him, which they distributed among their partakers . . . yea they had gonne so farre that the said king of Spaine a while had his armie readie and under saile to fall thereupon, had he not in time been preuented.<sup>87</sup>

Hurault, like many others, comments that Philip's desire to retain Pampeluna makes him willing to help Guise against Navarre.<sup>88</sup> Hurault also tells us, what Marlowe sees no need to, that Philip aids Guise, because to do so strengthens his hand against England and his rebellious provinces in the Low Countries, and improves his chance of getting the throne of France for his daughters.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>86</sup> P. 22. Large sums given to Guise by Spain are matter of common gossip, e.g., *A Catholicke Apologie*, fol. 96<sup>r</sup>; Colynet, p. 21. Some works even remind us of the "Indian gold" spoken of by Marlowe's Guise, specifying that Philip sends gold from his Indies, e.g., *An Excellent Discourse*, fol. 23<sup>v</sup> and Byrd's *A Caueat for France*, tr. E. Aggas (London, 1588), p. 18. Guise's negotiations with Parma are pronounced upon in *An Admonition . . . by one of the Duke of Sauoyes Council*, fol. B4<sup>r</sup>, and in many other publications.

<sup>87</sup> P. 8. This passage is a free translation of one in Navarre's "Remonstrance" of October, 1587, *Memoires of De Mornay*, I, 774. The same idea is brought out in *The Restorer of the French Estate*, p. 5.

<sup>88</sup> *A Discourse*, p. 26; *A Catholicke Apologie*, fol. 95<sup>v</sup>. Spain's seizure, with Papal approval, of part of the kingdom of Navarre in 1511 is fully dealt with in *The Brutish Thunderbolt*, pp. 301-02.

<sup>89</sup> *A Discourse*, p. 31.

Marlowe's treatment of the relations between Guise and the Pope is not quite so shadowy. Guise is expected to eradicate Protestantism and bind France "wholly to the see of Rome" (XVII, 27). In exchange he gets full Papal sanction for all the "murder, mischief, or . . . tyranny" he must commit in the process (I, 41) and, besides, "a largess . . . / A pension and a dispensation too" (II, 62-63). But, best of all, he gets a popular cause by which he may climb to the throne.

Some of these ideas were conventional enough—for instance, that the Pope supported Guise as a means of maintaining and increasing Roman control over the French church. The Pope's aim, declares *The Reformed Politicke*, is:

to strengthen the League so strongly, that it may ouerrule both king and commons, and shut up the king in some Cōuent of Charterhouse Monkes, for to make one of the League, a creature of the Popes, and one of the king of Spaines Pësoners, king: and through him to trouble the whole state of Fraunce, and abolish the priuiledges of the French Church. . . .<sup>90</sup>

As might be expected, the Pope's fear of a religious revolution if Navarre should become king is particularly stressed:

He feareth least he should come ouer the Alpes. . . . Moreouer, he feareth least that a mightie Prince like unto this, doo one day bring a great reformation in religion, which can not bee doone without diminishing the authoritie of the sea . . . he curseth, hee declareth him an heretike, a rebell: finally not capable of the Croune of France . . . hee promiseth money unto the Guizians: hee promiseth, but hee sendeth not. . . .<sup>91</sup>

Most statements declare, as does this one, that actual monetary aid from the Pope was not forthcoming.<sup>92</sup> As regards the dispensation which Marlowe's Guise says he has, I have not seen anywhere anything to show that his assertion was generally considered true. "Dispensation" here probably means a release from the subject's oath of loyalty to his king. The power to give such a release was claimed by the Pope in the excommunication of Elizabeth and, later, of Navarre. Such a claim was, of course, always condemned by Protestants in the most indignant terms, and describing Guise as possessed of a dispensation seems to be Marlowe's unauthorized way of attracting new hatred toward him.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>90</sup> P. 34.

<sup>91</sup> *A Discourse*, p. 30. Similarly, *The Brutish Thunderbolt*, p. 171, and *An Excellent Discourse*, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>. For assertions that the French Catholic clergy were the most fiery supporters of the League see Colynet, pp. 22, 104, 194 *et passim*, and *The Restorer of the French Estate*, p. 159.

<sup>92</sup> Colynet, p. 311.

<sup>93</sup> Dispensations of this kind are argued against in *A Catholike Apologie*, p. 80; *The Restorer*, p. 74; *Contre-League*, p. 44. Friar Clement was sometimes thought to have had a dispensation for killing Henry III: *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. C3<sup>r</sup>. An English audience would inevitably call to mind the dispensations given by the Pope to the plotters against Elizabeth: see A. Marten, *An Exhortation* (London, 1588), fol. B1, and P. Stubbs, *The Intended Treason of Doctor Parrie* (London, 1585), fol. A2<sup>v</sup>. Marlowe's play is crammed with connotations for English politics.

Enough has now been said about the commonly received Protestant views of Guise's aims and methods to make it plain that Marlowe's conceptions were based on them in all essential points. There could have been little room for Machiavellian influence on the dramatist. Guise's vast ambition, his atheism, his religious and political hypocrisy, his murders, ambushments, and poisonings,<sup>64</sup> his daring, his scorn, his pride—these qualities were already in the dire Satanic portrait drawn with fascinated hatred by the Duke's Huguenot and English enemies. To be sure, the derisive humor of Marlowe's villain was missing, but that is not specifically Machiavellian: it comes rather from one side of the dramatist's own nature.

With respect to Marlowe's handling of his materials, one notices that in presenting the religious and political struggles in France he brings Guise much more into the foreground than do most contemporary writers. Whereas they often conceive the opposition as lying between the League and Navarre, or the League and the King, Marlowe scarcely mentions the League at all. For him Guise is the adversary; the struggle is between persons. Used in moderation, as Shakespeare uses it in the Henry IV plays, this is a legitimate dramatic measure to sharpen and humanize the conflict, but Marlowe carries it to such excess that his drama loses the breadth of view it might otherwise have had. To some extent, he is also open to censure for accepting the most lurid, propagandistic ideas about Guise then current. Even among the Protestants there were a good many moderates like Hurault, and Navarre himself, who thought Guise something better than a monster. But Marlowe rakes together all the vilest popular elements and then, perversely, admires this paragon of evil more than he does any other figure in the play. Only in this method of selection was Marlowe influenced possibly by popular Machiavellism.

The Queen Mother in Marlowe's play is another bizarre creation. She is animated by three motives which are not altogether consistent: to strengthen Catholicism, to aid Guise whom she worships, and at the same time to establish her own supreme authority in France by keeping her sons obedient to her wishes. If the latter two purposes are to be reconciled, she must be supposed to be blind to the real selfishness and reach of Guise's ambitions, although she knows well enough that he is seeking to pull down the House of Bourbon (XI, 54-60). Marlowe leaves this whole problem undefined and obscure. In stressing the Queen Mother's desire to rule, however, he is following the main line of attack taken by his Protestant contemporaries. The vehement language of *Le Tocsain contre les massacreurs* is representative:

<sup>64</sup> Marlowe has indeed added to the Duke's murders several of which even the pamphleteers exonerated him, but that is simply for good measure and violent dramatic effect. The nature of Guise's criminality remains unchanged.

Or pour venir au poinct, nous pouuons dire que toutes les desolatiōs que nous auons veues de nostre temps en Frâce depuis la mort du Roy Héry, ne procedēt d'ailleurs que du mauuais gouuernement, conduite, & cōseil de la Royne mere du Roy . . . abusant de la ieunesse de ses enfans pour satisfaire a son ambition desmesurée, & à ses delices . . . elle n'a eu esgard qu'a ses affections particulieres, & a se maintenir en l'usurpatiō quelle auoit faicte de tout l'estat du Royaume, se seruant seulemēt du temps, & des occasiōs qui luy estoiet presentées pour y paruenir.<sup>95</sup>

Colynet is no less bitter:

This accursed woman, as she had alwaies an ambitious and busie soule, so she had also a double mind, by the which she studied to haue great thanks for doing no good, and to keepe her selfe in authoritie, and in the possession of the gouernment, though it should cost her the subuersion of her oune house and children and the utter desolation of the Realme.<sup>96</sup>

We have already seen in earlier pages that Marlowe has authority for showing her as having poisoned her own son Charles when he seemed about to throw off her domination. The same cannot be said, however, of his making her genuinely concerned for the future of Catholicism. As far as I am aware, she was universally reputed to be using the Roman faith only as a cloak for the selfish designs already set forth.<sup>97</sup> For the rest, Protestants thought of her as a subtle help-mate of the League, always intriguing to keep it in the good graces of the King. One passage from Colynet (p. 147), descriptive of the situation in March, 1587, will do:

She in great hast (fearing the breaking of good fellowship betweene the King and the Duke of Guize) (for by such frayes she had kept her selfe alwayes in authoritie) commeth to the Court, and by the Leaguers who were about the Kings person, easily doo perswade him to holde with the Leaguers. . . .

It is noteworthy that her motive is here said to be purely egoistic, not any love for Guise personally. That is the overwhelmingly preponderant opinion.<sup>98</sup> I have met with little in the pamphlets to support Marlowe's characterization of her in this particular. There are one or two statements that her death was hastened by her alarm or sorrow at the murder of Guise, but that is about all.<sup>99</sup> Apparently Marlowe was arguing back from the circumstance that her death followed Guise's by only a few days to the position that love for him

<sup>95</sup> Rheims, 1577, fols. 4<sup>v</sup> and 5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>96</sup> P. 37. A vivid analysis of Catherine's policy of keeping all parties at odds so that she might hold the balance of power is Hurault's, *A Discourse*, pp. 24-26. Other descriptions of her evil ambition: *A Legendarie*, fol. G2<sup>v</sup> et passim; *Le Reveille-Matin*, Dial. I, p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> Lyfe . . . of K. de Medicis, pp. 50, 78, 177; Colynet, p. 3; *A Legendarie*, fol. G3<sup>r</sup>; Serres, *The Fourth parte of Cōmentaries*, Bk. XII, p. 132; *Le Tocsain*, fol. 33<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> Hurault, *A Discourse*, p. 26; Colynet, p. 250; *Le Tocsain*, fol. 7<sup>v</sup>; *A Legendarie*, fol. K4<sup>r</sup>. Ironically enough, if the Protestants hated Catherine for siding with the House of Guise, many Leaguers loathed her for favoring the Huguenots. Few contemporaries had anything good to say for Catherine.

<sup>99</sup> See the discussion of her death in Scene XVIII, *supra*.

had helped to determine her whole policy. Such an interpretation would be a useful addition in building up an impression of the masterfulness of Guise.

Navarre is Marlowe's worst failure in the entire play. Properly speaking, he has no character. He is the merest patchwork of Protestant commonplaces: a few pleas of self-defense here, some offers to help the King against the wicked League there, schemes for an English alliance in some passages, a stream of religious platitudes everywhere, and the figure is complete. Every trait mentioned is authentic enough if we look to the pamphlet materials, but the dramatist leaves out much that he might have seen even in them, and he nowhere reaches the fine actuality of the great Huguenot leader.<sup>100</sup> This constitutional inability of the poet to understand and delineate a great good man must be reckoned one of the chief defects of his genius.

The choice of Philip de Mornay (Pleshé) and Du Bartas (Bartus) as Navarre's two closest companions in the drama seems dictated primarily by their literary eminence. As a matter of fact, Du Bartas had no place in Navarre's inner councils, whereas De Mornay did. The latter was for many years adviser and confidential negotiator for Navarre, and composer of innumerable official letters, declarations, tracts, and the like for the Huguenot party.

Henry III is a chameleon-like being who changes during the course of the play from something very black to something extraordinarily white. The reason is plain. Protestant opinion about him had veered from severe condemnation of his share in the St. Bartholomew massacre to defense of his execution of Guise and alliance with Navarre. Marlowe's attitude towards him reverses itself in exactly the same way, but the process of transforming the character, delicate enough at best, is so carelessly conducted as to lack every semblance of psychological truth. Two passages will serve to show the ground for Marlowe's shift of attitude. The first is from Colynet with reference to Anjou's crimes in 1572:

This King [Henry III] being then . . . Duke of Anjou . . . debased himselfe so farre as to become the chiefeſt Captayne of an accursed ſedition, and procurer of ſuch a murder as hated both of God and man, the fame thereof ſhall be execrable and ſtinking in the eares of men for euer.<sup>101</sup>

Hotman, Marlowe's chief source for those early scenes, had also spoken in hostile sort of Anjou's participation in the plans for the

<sup>100</sup> For Navarre's self-defense, piety, and loyalty to the King see the discussion of Scenes XIII, XV, and XVII, *supra*. English aid to Navarre was a matter of such common knowledge that one need not proceed grimly to cite authorities for it, although many are available. Any one of the following publications gives a keener and more comprehensive analysis of Navarre's character than Marlowe provides: Hurault, *A Discourse*, pp. 21-23; *An Excellent Discourse*, fols. 29<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>v</sup>; *The Restorer of the French Estate*, pp. 152-53.

<sup>101</sup> P. 409. Also *Martine Mar-Sixtus*, fol. E4<sup>r</sup>, and cf. the present writer's "François Hotman and Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*," *loc. cit.*



massacre. Quite different is the discussion in *Martine Mar-Sixtus* of the question whether the League was justified in assassinating Henry in 1589:

... we do not acknowledge those for sinnes in wreake and reuenge whereof this direfull tragedie was performed. For shall we say his Maiestie did offend in executing iustice upon that recreant Guize, a furious and braynsicke rebell . . . ? As though a King may not correct the misdemeanor of his subjects. . . .<sup>102</sup>

The Protestants naturally did not like Henry's wars against Navarre between 1585 and 1588, but explained them away on the ground that the King was "yok'd" by Guise, acting under compulsion from the League and bad advice from his disloyal Council and atrocious mother.<sup>103</sup> All these excuses for Henry appear in Marlowe, as has been sufficiently shown above. While the Protestants did not like Henry's riotous living with his mignons, yet they overlooked it as well as they could.<sup>104</sup> Marlowe, likewise, seems not to condemn the mignons, and clearly intends us to enjoy a jest at Guise's expense in the Mugeroun episode.

In particular, the favorable treatment given Epernoun in the drama results from warm Protestant approval of him as the King's friend who stood most strongly against the League. Colynet writes:

The Lord Espernon of the auncient house of Valette, grew in great fauour with the King, through his faithful seruice, a man altogether sold to popery, yet a louer of the Kings person, croune and state, a louer of the realme and peace of the same, a hater of conspirators . . . who neuer could bee drawne to the conspiracies of the Leaguers, neither by faire promises nor other meanes whatsoever, which thing was the cause the Leaguers hated him, as the onely man about the Kings person, who did hinder the execution of their enterprises. . . .<sup>105</sup>

Marlowe puts him at the King's side in every important scene from the time of Henry's coronation until his death. That is only loosely correct. Epernoun in fact did not become intimate with the King until 1576; he had nothing to do with the Saint-Megrin affair; he may have advised the assassination of Guise,<sup>106</sup> but was absent from Blois when it took place; he was present at Henry's deathbed.

Upon resurvey it seems clear that there is very little in Marlowe's play, whether of fact or interpretation, which does not come from the contemporary published materials. In the four concluding scenes, where their nature and impact are definable with some precision, the

<sup>102</sup> Fol. E3r. Other defenses of Henry's later conduct: *The Discoverer of France*, pp. 5-6; *Contre-League*, pp. 73-78.

<sup>103</sup> For authorities, consult footnotes to the analyses of Scenes XVIII and XVII and the character of Catherine, *ante*.

<sup>104</sup> See the comment about the mignons in the discussion of Scene XII, *ante*.  
<sup>105</sup> P. 270. *Life of Espernon*, p. 24 *et passim*; *Memoires of De Mornay*, I, 532.

<sup>106</sup> *Memoirs of Sully*, I, 151 n. This is denied in the *Life of Espernon*, p. 76.

poet can be observed introducing minor changes which make for compression and sharper focus. In Scenes VII to XVII, on the contrary, the treatment of the materials is so general that we cannot tell much about the specific sources and must be content to notice how faithfully Marlowe adopts current Protestant views about the situations and characters. The crudeness and extreme prejudice of most of these views explain in large measure why the drama is the crass and violently partisan thing it is. Nevertheless, every admirer of Marlowe will wish that he had not remained so earthbound to the garish, popular levels of Protestant opinion. The tremendous issues convulsing France and the mighty personalities engaged in the conflict offered the richest imaginable opportunities for drama of a nobler sort developed from saner, juster, and more profound conceptions. Such conceptions were to be found in the more temperate authors in both parties, had Marlowe cared to seek them out.

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## THOMAS TRAHERNE AS ARTIST\*

By ALLAN H. GILBERT

### I. ON THE LIFE OF TRAHERNE

Of Traherne as he appears in poems, *Meditations*, or *Contemplation*, "any man may perceive that he permitteth his fancy to wander a little wantonly after the manner of a poet" (*Meds.* 4.78). So far as this is true, the primary interpretation of what he says is the poetical one, and in proportion it is hardly possible to accept as valid Miss Gladys I. Wade's statement of her biographical method: "I am accepting as literal facts Traherne's own references and allusions in his *Centuries of Meditations* and in the two autobiographical cycles in his poems. . . . Every reference we can check has been found to be literally true. For instance, he discusses in the *Centuries* his studies at a university, and we have proof of his long stay at Oxford" (p. 26). This example is beyond denial; it is easy to assume a backing of the city of Hereford for references to a city wall, to streets, even to a mayor also named Traherne. But references of a more detailed character, capable of varied interpretation and unsupported by documents, are in a different category.

Even when taken literally, some of the passages may receive an explanation unlike Miss Wade's. She gives from the *Meditations* four quotations alluding "to something more [i.e., worse] than poverty" (p. 29). One, on "great men's houses" (3.15) is quite possible for a well-to-do burgess. The first, "born to mean things according to the world" (1.92) as contrasted with the glorious things of Heaven, does not imply "miserable poverty" (p. 36), only low rank. In another, Traherne speaks of "rags and cottages" (2.6); this inevitably reminds us of the five cottages in Widemarsh Street that Miss Wade tells us he owned at his death (pp. 37, 104). The plural is evidently figurative, and is meant to contrast with the gift of the Saviour. In the last quotation the poet is shown as sitting in "a little

\* Incidentally a review of Gladys I. Wade, *Thomas Traherne*, with a selected bibliography of criticism, by Robert Allerton Parker (Princeton, 1944). Pp. x, 269.

Various parts of this article relate to Miss Wade's volume; for example, the section on Joy in the Sun (VI) supplements parallel passages offered in evidence for authorship (pp. 134-35), and that on the two manuscripts (III) presents a view unlike hers.

As an early and diligent worker in the field, Miss Wade gives much that can aid students of Traherne. Her valuable discussion of his habits of revision (pp. 206-08) might well have been longer. On the other hand, her attempt to write in popular style is not successful. She neglects details such as the description of manuscripts, and in more important matters, of which the chief is her study of the poet as "Christian, Platonist, Mystic," does not advance far.

obscure room in my father's poor house" and asking "How comes it to pass therefore that I am so poor? Of so scanty and narrow a fortune, enjoying few and obscure comforts?" (3.16). This, too, is in contrast with the infinite riches of God. Moreover, the reference is to a fortune, though scanty and narrow, and to comforts, though few, not to "stark poverty" (p. 35).

Aubrey says Traherne was a shoemaker's son, and an old record in Hereford names one John Traherne, a shoemaker (pp. 28, 31). Miss Wade rejects this man as the father because of a note by Charles Burney (p. 32 n.); but why should she reject the possibility that Burney, in 1707, made the mistake of thinking that Philip was the son of the long-dead Thomas, or, in mere inadvertence, of writing *filius* in place of *frater*? Thomas was doubtless known to Burney and to others as the author of his published books. It is true that Thomas never mentions his father's trade, though the word *trades* is frequent enough in poems, *Centuries*, and *Contemplation* to attract attention, as in the question: "Is it not the shame and reproach of Nature, that men should spend so much time in studying trades?" (*Meds.* 4.7). Miss Wade quotes from the poems three occurrences of the word *tavern* or *inn* and speaks of "many other passing references to taverns in Traherne's writings" (p. 35). I find two in the *Centuries* (1.80; 3.28), neither more specific than those in *Eden*, *Solitude*, and *Dissatisfaction*, as "Shops, Markets, Taverns, Coaches." None of these give any foundation for supposing that Thomas had the tavern of his uncle Philip (if Miss Wade's surmise that Philip was his uncle is correct) in view. A stanza in *Poverty* is quoted (p. 35) as applying to an inn, on the ground that the expression "Where Peeple us'd to dine" would not be used of a private room. But why should not a table and stools have been used in a private house, and why should the dishes of an inn have been "few"? These passages furnish no reason for especially associating Thomas Traherne with a tavern.

Miss Wade also holds that Traherne "tells us that in that home of his infancy there was vice, and quarrels, and tears" (p. 29), basing the statement on the passage "all tears and quarrels were hidden from mine eyes" (*Meds.* 3.2); the same thought appears in *Wonder*:

Harsh ragged Objects were conceald,  
Oppressions, Tears and Cries,  
Sins, Griefs, Complaints, Dissentions, Weeping Eys,  
Were hid: and only Things reveald,  
Which Heav'nly Spirits, and the Angels prize.

Of these distresses Miss Wade says: "The point for us at the moment is not that he was unaware of them, but that these things were actually there" (p. 30). Evidently these ills were and are in the world, but does even the utmost literalism in interpreting poetical references to childhood assure us that they were characteristic of the

poet's own infancy? Probably there was sickness in that home as in most. Miss Wade further asserts: "I think it is beyond argument that Traherne had for his parents neither love nor respect" (p. 31). It is true that he says "my parents" but once in poems or *Meditations* (3.36), and then with a censure for their failure to talk of the "glorious secrets" taught him at the university; he does, however, put "Love in our parents" along with "God in His works" (*Meds.* 3.5), and speaks of "My dear Relations" in *A Contemplation* (p. 70); there is nothing but silence to indicate any lack of respect.

Miss Wade thinks his mother may have died early, because his brother was "Brought home from Nurse" (*To the same purpos*) when able to walk. But this supposition neglects the custom of sending children to wet nurses to be cared for. If we may judge from the seventeenth-century drama, it was frequent among well-to-do tradesmen. In a passage as autobiographical as any in the *Meditations* (3.36), Traherne speaks of "my nurses" as though there had been more than one for himself. Is it credible that he refers to his father's property in *Wonder*?

Hedges, Ditches, Limits, Bounds,  
I dreamd not ought of those,  
But wanderd over all mens Grounds.

Did he wear a ring early in life?

No Rubies could more take mine Ey;  
Nor Pearls of price,  
By man's Device  
In Gold set artificially,  
Could of more worth appear to me,  
How rich so'er they be  
By men esteem'd; nor could these more be mine  
That on my finger shine.

(*The World*)

If we may believe Dekker's portrait of Simon Eyre, a shoemaker could rise to wealth and become Lord Mayor of London. Could not a shoemaker in Hereford prosper enough to send his son to Oxford and leave him five cottages at his death? It seems that Thomas was hardly one of the "poorer" freshmen at the university. At least he was a commoner, not the lowest rank among the students, which probably indicates that he had some money at his command.<sup>1</sup> Al-

<sup>1</sup> "The ordinary commoner is . . . probably the son of a gentleman, and has fair means. He pays his fees on entering the College at a lower rate than the fellow commoner. Below these two classes in the scale came the bateller. He is a really poor man" (G. H. Wakeling, "History of the College, 1603-1660," in *Brasenose College Quatercentenary Monographs*, Vol. II, Part I, Sect. XI, p. 17).

Anthony à Wood gives various students who were commoners at Brasenose: Edward Bagshaw, younger son of a gentleman, 1604; Matthew Griffith, born of genteel parents in London, 1615; Philip Nye, born of a genteel family in Sussex, 1615; Morgan Godwin, son of Dr. Morgan Godwin, canon of Hereford, son of Dr. Franc. Godwin, sometime bishop of that place, 1661;

together, it seems quite as probable that Thomas' father was a manufacturer and merchant of some consequence in his town, as that Thomas and Philip were adopted and expensively educated by a rich uncle who had sons of his own.

As Miss Wade gives literal interpretation to the poetry and the *Meditations* to find the outward facts of Traherne's life, so she does for his inner activity. The attempt to give him a hectic life, with a First Crisis and a Second Crisis, seems to have the slightest of foundations. A reference to wantonness and lily breasts is not enough to support a charge of "youthful wildness" (p. 44).<sup>2</sup> Traherne gives much from which we can judge the quality of his spirit, little from which we can judge of specific manifestations.

Is it possible to assign dates for the composition of the poetry? Miss Wade, stating that "the Dobell Folio ends abruptly," infers that the poet's transcription of his poems "was interrupted by death" (p. 175).<sup>3</sup> Her description of the folio makes this seem unlikely.<sup>4</sup> The verses occupy the first fifteen pages of the manuscript. "Then after a blank page or two" the entries of a *Commonplace Book* begin; they occupy seventy-two and one-half pages. In Miss Wade's opinion the handwriting is all Thomas Traherne's. The entries in the *Commonplace Book* must have been begun not earlier than 1669, since they consist of extracts from a work of which the first part was printed in that year. If the Dobell Folio is an integral volume, the poet apparently took a blank folio volume of some ninety pages and transcribed poems on the early pages. About 1669, wishing a book for his notes, he decided to use the blank part of this volume. Perhaps this later function of the volume has some relation to the time and amount of Philip's use of it. Since material from the notes went into Thomas' *Christian Ethicks*, the notebook may have been among

Thomas Manwaring, younger son of Philip Manwaring, Esq., born of an ancient and genteel family of Cheshire, 1637. Among the batellers were the following: Isaac Ambrose, a minister's son at Lowick, from the Ambroses anciently living at Ambrose Hall in Lancashire, 1621; John Shaw, a minister's son from Bedlington, 1629.

<sup>2</sup> Cf.:

O Lord, how highly great have my Transgressions been, who have abused this thy glorious Creature, by Surfeiting and Excess, by Lust and Wantonness, by Drunkenness, by Passion, by Immoderate Cares, excessive Desires, and earthly Fears?

Yes, had I been guilty of none of those, had no Lies and Oaths polluted my Tongue, no vain Imaginations defiled my Heart, no stealing my Hands, nor idle Speeches profaned mine Ears,

Yet have I been wholly estranged from thee, by the sinful Courses of this World, by the Delusions of vain Conversation.

Being unsensible of these things, I have been blind and dead, profane and stupid, seared and ingrateful; and for living beneath such a glorious Estate, may justly be excluded thine everlasting Kingdom (*A Serious and Pathetical Contemplation of the Mercies of God, in Several Most Devout and Sublime Thanksgivings for the Same*, ed. R. Daniells [Toronto, 1941], p. 25).

This is obviously liturgical, written for a congregation or for all men. But is not poetry also universal?

<sup>3</sup> I understand Miss Wade to refer to the part of the MS containing poems, not to the part given to prose excerpts.

<sup>4</sup> See Wade, *Traherne*, pp. 250 ff.

the papers relating to that work, rather than with other manuscripts of poems. Philip may for that reason have been for years unaware that it contained verses.

If this slight evidence be interpreted to the utmost, what does it suggest? Since Thomas took a large blank book, he intended to copy many poems, more than are now in the manuscript. The copying was done long enough before 1669 to permit the author to change his plans. Indeed, by that year or soon after, the notebook had become valuable to him not as containing fair copies of his poems, but merely as affording blank paper for the preparation of *Christian Ethicks*. May it be that some years before 1669 he lost interest in these poems? He at least did not destroy them, and he included poetry in the *Christian Ethicks* itself, though poetry somewhat more immediately orthodox and conventional than most of that in the Dobell MS, and some of it composed long before the *Ethicks*.<sup>8</sup> On such evidence, one cannot with assurance assign Traherne's greatest poetical activity to his twenties, nor can one be confident that, like Vaughan, he abandoned poetry early for works such as *Roman Forgeries* and *Christian Ethicks*. Yet it seems possible that when Traherne was about thirty the artist in him gave ground to the clergyman, and that he tended to occupy himself more with churchly matters and less with poetry.

## II. THE STRUCTURE OF *Centuries of Meditations*

The First Century begins with five Meditations of an introductory sort, explaining Traherne's design to her to whom the *Meditations* are dedicated. With *Meditation* 6 begins a group on love, true happiness, the riches of the world around one, and the wants that make enjoyment possible. Its spirit is that of the following:

You never enjoy the world aright, till the Sea itself floweth in your veins, till you are clothed with the heavens, and crowned with the stars: and perceive yourself to be the sole heir of the whole world, and more than so, because men are in it who are every one sole heirs as well as you. Till you can sing and rejoice and delight in God, as misers do in gold, and Kings in sceptres, you never enjoy the world (1.29).

This group is remote from conventional religion and normal theology. Jesus is but once mentioned (1.39), and then only in passing.

With *Meditation* 53 there is a sudden change; the remainder of the Century is in contrast. The characteristic ideas of preceding Meditations yield to conventional and orthodox religious aspiration, to the theme of "Christ dwelling in our hearts by Faith" (1.100). The typical Meditation begins "O Adorable Trinity" (1.69), "O Jesu" (1.91).

The Second Century begins in a different key. The enthusiasm of love for Jesus has changed to an argumentative method proceeding

<sup>8</sup> Wade, *Traherne*, p. 147 n.

by logical means, though with the assertion that God "hath drowned our understanding in a multitude of wonders" (2.21), to conclude that "The very greatness of our felicity convinceth us that there is a God" (2.21). There is some orthodox reference, yet many meditations are without it; a bold but not uncharacteristic thought is "How do we know, but the world is that body, which the Deity hath assumed to manifest His Beauty?" (2.20). As the Century continues, logic is applied to conventional theology, as in *Meditations* 21-27, which argue on the work of the Redeemer. With *Meditation* 40 the poetry of love appears more clearly, and with 48 begins a section on love, without reference to the Trinity or to theology. In *Meditation* 70 the writer turns to beauty and the true wealth of man. There follow several paragraphs on thought (2.87-91); the last of these returns to logic, beginning "Once more, that I might close up this point." With 93 Jesus again is mentioned; the remainder of the Century says much on his love.

The Third Century has attracted special attention for two reasons. First, it deals with the theme of infancy, of which so much has been made by the writers on Traherne, and second, it apparently gives personal experiences and therefore has been quoted by biographers. It is obvious that neither of these things has anything to do with its excellence. On the whole, but with exceptions, the first sixty-eight meditations are typified by the sections on education, as

Ethics teach us the mysteries of morality, and the nature of affections, virtues, and manners, as by them we may be guided to happiness. . . . It is impossible for language, miracles, or apparitions to teach us the infallibility of God's word, or to shew us the certainty of true religion, without a clear sight into truth itself, that is into the truth of things. Which will themselves when truly seen, by the very beauty and glory of them, best discover and prove religion (3.45).

With *Meditation* 69, stanzas on King David as poet, the tone wholly changes. The sections that follow (70-94) quote and expound a number of Psalms; some attention is given to David as a prophet of the work of Jesus, especially in *Meditation* 77, which explains Psalm 45 as an "Epithalamium upon the marriage between Christ and His Church." The following paragraphs draw general conclusions from this study of the Psalms; the last, dealing with communion with God, is highly orthodox. Though using words, such as *fountain*, frequent in Traherne's poetry, it hardly becomes itself poetical; witness its conclusion:

All these therefore particularly ought to be near us, and to be esteemed by us as our riches; being those delectable things that adorn the house of God which is Eternity; and those living fountains, from whence we suck forth the streams of joy, that everlastingly overflow to refresh our souls (3.100).

The Fourth Century exhibits at the beginning a literary device that distinguishes it from the others: namely, that of a third person,



a friend of the recipient of the *Meditations*, whose thoughts are reported by the writer.<sup>6</sup> The plan appears here as something already understood and accepted, though no explanation has been given, and the third person is to be found in this Century only. He is mentioned at fairly frequent and regular intervals, as in the 29th, 54th and 66th *Meditations*. With the last he abruptly vanishes, not to reappear. In harmony with this device, the *Meditations* exhibiting it are of an expository rather than an ecstatic quality, and argumentative rather than poetical. The first nine distinguish the Christian from the philosopher. Many are given to the exposition of the friend's "principles." These, even when tinged with thought characteristic of Traherne, tend to be somewhat commonplace, however valuable. *Meditation* 10, on Riches and Felicity, is admirably stated; for example: "Riches are but servants unto happiness; when they are impediments to it they cease to be riches." Still this is far from the poetry of Felicity. Yet poetry does appear in some of these paragraphs, as in "He thought the stars as fair now, as they were in Eden" (4.24); nevertheless the voice of the First Century does not generally speak, not even in Traherne's enthusiasm over man's free will (4.43-48). This first part of the Fourth Century is obviously orthodox in its frequent reference to the Son.

With *Meditation* 69 of the Fourth Century, references to the Saviour all but vanish, and the religion is again of the general sort found in the early part of the First Century. Man is the friend of God (4.90, 93); "God is the greatest and divinest artist" (4.72) (this, it may be observed, is in a *Meditation* Trinitarian in tone); the figure of the soul as a mirror is poetically developed (4.84).

The ten *Meditations* of the Fifth Century are concerned largely with eternity. This unity of subject gives it some suggestion of a treatise. Otherwise it is not conventional in idea or quality, but moves toward the poetical quality of the first half of the First Century: "God's Wisdom is the art, His Goodness the will, His Word the

<sup>6</sup> This friend is not to be confused with the one mentioned on the first leaf of the manuscript of the *Centuries*:

This book unto the friend of my best friend  
As of the wisest Love a mark I send,  
That she may write my Maker's praise therein  
And make her self thereby a Cherubin.

From this and from the first *Meditation*, Bertram Dobell concluded that the volume "was written for the benefit and instruction of a lady, a friend from whom he had received as a present the [blank] book in which it is written" (Traherne's *Poetical Works* [1906], p. xviii). Miss Wade holds that "these four lines have nothing to do" with the woman who gave the notebook (p. 182), pointing out that the poet often refers to God as his friend—e.g., *The Vision*, last stanza; *Meds.* 1.53, 73; 4.41, 43, 90, 93; *A Contemplation*, pp. 36, 58, 70, 100, 107; "Of Magnanimitie" (from *Christian Ethics*, ed. Salter [New York, 1942]), pp. 1, 10, 12. Not everyone will be able to follow Miss Wade in her belief that the feminine pronouns refer to the heavenly Aphrodite, but all must agree that the word *write* is difficult. Is it possible that it is a slip of the pen, and that Traherne intended the word *read*?

pencil, His Beauty and Power the colours, His Pictures are all His Works and Creatures" (5.5).

The effect is as though each one of the groups of kindred Meditations was written independently and the groups were then combined with little thought of their relation to each other, except perhaps as a matter of contrast or compensation; in the First Century the devotion to Jesus in the second half may be taken as a deliberate counterpoise for the neglect of the Trinity in the first half. Such arrangement lessens the possibility of inferring when individual Meditations or groups of them were written. Unless the author counted carefully as he wrote, he must have had the problem of combining groups that in total ran over the number possible for a Century. Is this the reason why the late sections of the Fourth Century are in the tone of the first half of the First?

*Meditations* 6 to 52 of the First Century are much in the tone of the poems in Thomas' autograph.<sup>7</sup> While he is hardly to be imagined as at any time rejecting the normal concerns of a clergyman, the selection of poems in the Dobell MS indicates that when his artistic interests were uppermost, the ecclesiastical aspects of religion were little regarded. It is not improbable, then, that the composition of the less churchly poems and that of the similar parts of the *Meditations* coincide. It may be, however, that the writing of both was spread over a number of years, during which more conventional works were also composed. At least there seems to have been some distinction in Thomas' practice between, on the one hand, religious poetry and poetical reflection that is religious but not professional, and, on the other hand, poetry and meditation of a more conventional sort.

The concern with childhood in autobiographical tone that characterizes especially the earlier poems in the Dobell MS and a number of additional ones in the Burney MS is found chiefly in the early part of the Third Century of the *Meditations*. Possibly the composition of these Meditations is also to be put in the more poetical period of Thomas' life.

The poetical period, if the mute evidence of the Dobell MS is to be accepted,<sup>8</sup> was some time before his death, in his early thirties or late twenties. The first half of the First Century and the early Meditations of the Third would then be assigned to that period. If, without renouncing poetry, he later became somewhat more professional in his activities, the other parts of the *Centuries* might be assigned to the last half-dozen years of his life.

<sup>7</sup> On the tone of these poems see the following section.

<sup>8</sup> See the last part of the preceding section, "On the Life of Traherne."



## III. THE DOBELL AND THE BURNEY MANUSCRIPTS

Except for a few embedded in the prose works, the poems of Traherne are known from two manuscripts. The Dobell Folio MS, that first discovered, contains thirty-seven poems believed to be in the author's own hand, with corrections in another hand identified as that of his brother Philip. The Burney MS contains sixty-one poems, of which twenty-two are, in somewhat different form, to be found in the first collection.<sup>9</sup> The second manuscript is believed to be in the handwriting of Philip Traherne; its title page attributes all the poems to Thomas Traherne. Notes in the autograph indicate that Philip had a manuscript of his brother's poems running to at least 143 pages. This shows that some, possibly all, of the poems had been written or transcribed in a volume now lost; it may be supposed to have contained all the poems in the Dobell MS, all the additional poems in the Burney MS, and others as well. There may have been still other manuscripts. Philip, in his notes in the Dobell MS, mentions titles now unknown. It is possible, however, that these may refer to poems we know by other titles.<sup>10</sup>

The Dobell MS appears to be the author's selection from his poems, left incomplete. If his choice had been completed, he presumably would have included some of the poems we now know only from the Burney MS. In the Dobell MS, following *My Spirit*, is the title *The Odour* in the handwriting of Thomas;<sup>11</sup> perhaps the author wished to insert this poem at that point.<sup>12</sup> The Burney MS is indicated on the title page as Volume I; there is no suggestion of the total number of volumes contemplated. Perhaps Philip's selection was fuller than that of his brother, since his copy contains twenty-two poems also in the first manuscript and thirty-nine new ones. A second volume, with the fourteen remaining poems from the Dobell MS, would, at the same rate, have contained forty-seven new poems. If Thomas planned to include eighty-six additional poems in his gathering, the autograph gives no clue to such an intention.

Some of the new poems appear to be rejections. In the Dobell MS there are a number of poems entitled *Thoughts*, some of them in couplets. The Burney MS contains an inferior poem in couplets on

<sup>9</sup> For a table of the poems in the editions of Dobell and of Bell, see Ernst Christ, *Studien zu Thomas Traherne* (Tübingen, 1932), pp. 13-14. Dr. Christ also indicates the poems not given in the same order in the two editions. Unhappily he follows the printed editions, not the manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> Was *The Person* once *The Anatomy* (*Poetical Works*, ed. Wade, p. 260), *My Spirit* once *The Center* (p. 263), and *Adam* once *Adam's Fall* (pp. 257, 258)? On the other hand, *The Inheritance* or *The Inheritance Multiplied* (pp. 260, 267) seems unrepresented, and *Childhood* (p. 258) is not obviously identified with any of the extant poems on that theme.

<sup>11</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 260.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps he intended to use also *The Evidence*, now in the Burney MS (*Poetical Works*, p. 261).

this theme. Moreover, the poem in stanzas entitled *Thoughts II* in the first manuscript takes over

*David a Temple in his Mind conceiv'd (The Inference II, p. 196).*

Perhaps *The Inference II* is a rejected version partly taken over into *Thoughts II*. Indeed several poems in the Burney MS (*Dreams, The Inference, Insatiableness, Consummation, The Review*) appear as earlier studies for poems on the same theme (*Thoughts I, II, III, IV, Desire*) in the Dobell MS. *Apostacy* appears in ten stanzas in Philip's copy, while in Thomas' but two of its stanzas, with many variants, are given, with the title *Blisse*, as though the remainder were rejected, and the two stanzas revised. A few lines and stanzas found in the autograph manuscript do not appear in the other (*The Salutation*, St. 6; *The Improvement*, St. 8; *Nature*, various lines [see *Poetical Works*, p. 255]; *Dumnesse*, various lines [see *Poetical Works*, p. 255]; *The Estate*, St. 3). They are "marked through for deletion by Philip Traherne."<sup>13</sup> It appears to me that when they were put into the autograph they pleased the taste of their author; it is possible that when he made his copy he added these stanzas and lines to the text he was transcribing from the lost manuscript. They may then have been crossed out by Philip, because the lost manuscript did not contain them. The poems of the more recently discovered manuscript are characteristic of Thomas and are not wholly unworthy of him, but the majority of them are such that I can believe that they did not seem to their author good enough to include among his approved productions. Philip, less strict in his standards, was willing to take more poems from the papers his brother left.

Moreover, the poems found in both copies do not agree in text. Miss Wade reckons that lines omitted from the Burney MS, or appearing in altered form, amount to thirty-five per cent of the total. My own count of the lines actually standing in the Burney MS which differ verbally from corresponding lines in the Dobell MS gives about 385, or a total of almost one-third.<sup>14</sup> Such heavy revision indicates assiduity on the part of the reviser, since his corrections are all in poems already fully formed which are not fundamentally altered by the changes; his work is that of the file, bringing about minute improvement.

Dr. H. I. Bell, the first editor of the Burney MS, thinks that Philip may have copied the duplicated poems from an archetype other than the surviving autograph, though he cautiously concludes:

It is impossible to be certain as to the provenance of the variations from Dobell's text in this volume [i.e., in the Burney MS]; but perhaps the most

<sup>13</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 254.

<sup>14</sup> I have not counted, here or elsewhere, differences that may conceivably be due only to spelling, though some of them, such as *Enjoy'r*, corrected from *Enjoyer* by Thomas but appearing in the Burney MS as *Enjoyer*, are probably of significance.

likely inference is that the original text (in the main), and perhaps some of the corrections, are due to Thomas Traherne, but that in preparing the volume for press Philip did not scruple to revise and alter the text wherever he thought that correction was called for.<sup>15</sup>

The second editor, Miss Wade, also admitting the inferior quality of the duplicated poems in Philip's handwriting, holds that the revisions were by Philip, to whom we owe "all the variant readings from the text of the Dobell MS."<sup>16</sup> The reasons, resting on identification of the handwriting of the two brothers, may be listed as follows:<sup>17</sup>

A. The Dobell MS is corrected in the handwriting of Philip. These corrections are "but slight, only thirty-three being affected."

Miss Wade might have added that, with the exception of *Another*, Philip corrected only poems that appear in both manuscripts; this strengthens the belief that the corrections in the Dobell MS are related to the preparation of the Burney MS.

B. Whatever Philip "has marked for omission in the Dobell Folio will not be found in the Burney manuscript."

This refers to the lines and stanzas listed on page 328 above. In the instance of *Blisse*, marked for omission, it should be noted that the poem does occur in the Burney MS, as two stanzas, considerably modified, of *The Apostacy*.<sup>18</sup>

C. Lines altered by Philip in the autograph manuscript "never appear in their original form in the Burney manuscript and usually retain the Dobell Folio correction."

Miss Wade lists twenty-one such changes in poems found in the Burney copy. Of these, nine retain the corrected form. Four retain it with slight changes.<sup>19</sup> Eight do not retain it.

D. "The order of the poems in the Burney manuscript is indicated in the Dobell Folio by inserted titles."

In the notes to her edition, Miss Wade lists all of these. A few are thought to be in the hand of Thomas. *An Infant-Ey* follows *Innocence*, as seems to be directed, but *Adam*, if it be *Adam's Fall*, comes later in the Burney MS, and does not precede *The Vision*, as seems to be directed. *The Odour* does follow *Improvement* as indicated. *Fulnes* is not followed by *The Inheritance*; there is no poem by that title. *The Estate* is followed by *The Evidence*, as is prescribed. *The Enquiry* is not followed by *Thoughts II*. Other annotated poems, namely, *The Amendment*, *Another*, *Thoughts III*, and *Goodnesse*, do not occur in the Burney MS. It seems, then, that in three instances the order directed is followed in the Burney MS, and that in three instances it is not. The others are indeterminate.

<sup>15</sup> Traherne's *Poems of Felicity* (Oxford, 1910), p. xxv.

<sup>16</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. x; Traherne, p. 176.

<sup>17</sup> They are derived from *Poetical Works*, p. ix; Traherne, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> See *Poetical Works*, p. 265.

<sup>19</sup> The most considerable of these is in *The Estate*, St. 4; *And Ends* are becomes *The End* is.

E. Philip made changes in the poems after he had copied them in the Burney MS.

These changes are listed in Miss Wade's notes (*Poetical Works*, pp. 267-94). In thirty-three instances Philip corrected a form found in the Dobell MS. In fifty-one instances he corrected forms not found in the Dobell MS.<sup>20</sup> (Seeming slips of the pen have not been counted.)

F. Many of the changes marked in the Dobell MS are in the hand of Thomas himself.<sup>21</sup> Many of the resulting forms are found also in the Burney MS.

Hence the versions rejected for forms used by Philip seemingly are earlier than the lost manuscript from which Philip made his copy. Yet three of the corrected forms were, before change, those of the Burney MS,<sup>22</sup> though perhaps this number is so small as to be negligible.

These matters, though indicating relation between the two manuscripts, also indicate lack of relation. It may be remarked of *A* that Philip's corrections are few, whereas the number of variants between the two manuscripts is large. As to *B*, the crossing out of *Blisse* does not mean that the poem was to be omitted, but that Philip had in his manuscript, or planned to put there, the entire poem *Apostacy*, containing *Blisse*. This suggests corrections made in the Dobell MS after the Burney MS was prepared. As to *C*, if Philip was intending to prepare a second volume, why did he not make corrections throughout the Dobell MS, instead of confining them to poems also in the Burney MS, except for a single word in *Another*? Did he make his corrections from the Burney MS? Philip took over some corrections from the Dobell MS; why did he not take them all over? Where did he get the originals he corrected that do not appear in the Dobell MS? The information under *D* indicates that the notes in the

<sup>20</sup> *The Approach* is found in both manuscripts and in *Meditations* 3.4. The Dobell MS and the *Meditations* vary slightly, and the Burney MS is considerably different from either. Philip made four verbal changes, in three of them altering a form found in the other two texts, and in the most important correcting two lines originally in a form not otherwise found. *News* is found in *Meditations* 3.26 and in the Burney MS, varying somewhat in text. Philip made verbal corrections in a number of forms found in the *Meditation*, and in correcting one passage changed one word found in the *Meditation* and took over another word from the *Meditation*, that is, *thirsted after bliss* becomes *longed for absent bliss*; the *Meditation* reads *thirsted absent bliss*. One other change and one insertion are not based on the *Meditation*. The text of these two poems in the lost manuscript was apparently fairly close to the form used in the *Meditation*. We do not know whether Philip had a copy of that work. It will be recalled that the manuscript containing the autograph poems and that of the *Centuries* were found at the same stall by Mr. Brooke, as though long associated.

<sup>21</sup> *Poetical Works*, p. 257.

<sup>22</sup> *The Improvement*, St. 5, line 3: *Enjoyer to Enjoy'r*  
*The Improvement*, St. 9, line 6: *that's to 'tis*  
*Dumnesse*, line 11: *Secrets to such Things*

Dobell MS were not carefully followed for the Burney MS. Moreover, the poems in the Burney MS do not follow the order of those in the autograph.<sup>23</sup> If Philip was copying the Dobell MS, where did he get the non-Dobell readings, mentioned under *E*, that he first wrote down? The facts mentioned under *F*, derived from Miss Wade's notes, are, it seems, here first applied to the problem. They fit with the supposition that Philip copied from the Dobell MS, changing freely as he transcribed, so that he modified about one-third of the lines. If he did not copy from the autograph, where did he get Thomas' corrected readings?

It may be answered that Thomas, in copying from a lost manuscript, made various changes, some accidentally, others deliberately. On comparing his version with that from which he copied, he restored some of the readings he had changed. These would then agree with Philip's copy, if it were made from the same lost manuscript. Some of the readings Thomas did not restore or only partly restored. For example, *Nature*, line 77, was first written in the autograph, Miss Wade tells us:

The Empty like to Vacant Rooms did seem.

This, I suppose, Thomas wrote by accident or as a deliberate change when he copied. In the paper from which he was copying, the line presumably stood as now in Philip's copy:

The Empty, like to wide and vacant Room.

But not quite approving that, Thomas substituted what we now have in the autograph:

The Empty, like to large and Vacant Room.

The lost copy may well have been so corrected that the author at times had difficulty in making out what he had written; moreover, he doubtless was alert for the possibility of improvement.

Miss Wade's evidence obviously deals only with the passages corrected in the handwriting of Philip Traherne. She presents no argument bearing directly on the large number of variants, with no sign of revision, between the manuscripts. Having established from the handwriting that Philip made some corrections in the poems, she has inferred that he made many others. He "is responsible for the numerous corrections in the Burney manuscript as well as for the readings there that differ from the Dobell Folio." If the handwriting is correctly identified,<sup>24</sup> his pen evidently made the corrections; whether he devised them or merely copied them we do not know;

<sup>23</sup> If the Dobell poems are consecutively numbered, their order in the Burney MS is as follows: 1-4, two new poems, 5-8, sixteen new poems, 9, two new poems, 10, 16, 17, 11, 13, 12, one new poem, 14, 15, 18-20, one new poem, 21, one new poem, 22, sixteen new poems.

<sup>24</sup> That I accept, being unable to verify it.

some of the corrections in both manuscripts are probably poor enough to be the result of his taste. But as to the variant readings, we are without manuscript evidence.

If Philip worked from the Dobell MS, what must be assumed? Did he revise as he copied, generally refraining from noting his changes on the manuscript? He surely had an admirable eye and mind for verse if he was able to make changes in about one-third of the lines without putting on paper anything save the finished form. His facility in elaborate stanzas and in couplets was about the same. If incapable of the feat of correcting so much poetry without using his pen, he must have made from the Dobell manuscript a copy on which he wrote his corrections, or he must have made them on another manuscript prepared by his brother, presumably the lost manuscript to which reference is made in the notes in the Dobell copy.

If we now could see the lost manuscript or manuscripts as Thomas left them, what would appear? Would some of the poems be so interlined and crossed out that they could be read only with difficulty? Would some of them appear more than once, recopied and perhaps further revised? Working manuscripts by various poets suggest these possibilities. Moreover, Thomas Traherne was a careful reviser. The manuscript of the *Centuries*, apparently not from an early stage of composition, shows correction still going on;<sup>25</sup> some of it reminds one of changes in the poetry. In the selection Miss Wade prints, Traherne adds *and feel* to a list, producing "see and feel and eat and drink"; there are various instances in the Dobell MS of what have been called "objectionable catalogues"<sup>26</sup> that are abbreviated in the other manuscripts, as in *Dumnesse*:

To reign in Silence, and to Sing alone  
To see, love, Covet, hav, Enjoy and Prais, in one:  
To Prize and to be ravishd: to be true,  
Sincere and Single in a Blessed View.

This is lacking in the Burney MS. Less strikingly, in *Speed*, Dobell gives "Pure, Transparent, Soft, Sweet, Melting," while Burney has "tru, substantial and immaculat." The analogy of the *Meditations* suggests that Thomas Traherne's corrections may have been additions to the lists he liked, but which his critics do not.<sup>27</sup>

Such a suggestion leads to the more sweeping one: Is it not likely that Philip found in the lost manuscripts much of what he put into the Burney MS? Are not even some of his corrections the result of

<sup>25</sup> Wade, *Traherne*, pp. 206-08.

<sup>26</sup> Q. Iredale, *Thomas Traherne* (Oxford, 1935), p. 74. See also pp. 70, 71. Cf. Wade, *Traherne*, p. 176; *Poetical Works*, pp. x, 256.

<sup>27</sup> In one instance (*The Salutation*, St. 3, line 6) the Burney reading makes a list longer by two nouns. In two other instances (*Dumnesse*, line 41, and *My Spirit*, St. 5, line 3) the accumulation in the Burney MS is longer by one adjective.

his struggles with an interlined and rewritten text? To assume that Philip intended the Burney MS as a fair copy of his brother's work is much simpler than to assume that he was able to make dozens of corrections without marking up his original. In his copying he would have made some mistakes and would also have used his judgment in modifying readings he did not like or in interpreting confused passages. The existing situation can in most respects be accounted for if we assume that Philip made his copy from his brother's papers without reference to the Dobell MS.

There is, however, the difficulty that the Dobell MS was evidently in Philip's hands. To be sure, Thomas' lost manuscript probably followed to some extent the order adopted in the Dobell MS, or was marked to follow that order. Using those indications, Philip could have produced the order of the Burney MS. But if he had the Dobell MS, why did he not copy from it exactly as it stood? It must have appeared as a fair copy. The obvious answer is that Philip did not have the Dobell MS when he was doing most of his copying, but only the inferior lost manuscript, representing an earlier form of the poems.<sup>28</sup> Why he did not have the better copy can only be guessed. Had it been given to Mrs. Hopton? Did it come to Philip's hands late, after he had transcribed the Burney MS?<sup>29</sup> Why did he not go on to publication? In dealing with such matters the biographer must remember that his construct of probability is not fact. As Aristotle quoted from Agathon, "It is probable that many things will happen contrary to probability."

The unanimous opinion of writers on the subject is that the text of poems in Philip's transcript is on the whole poetically inferior to that in the Dobell MS. Miss Wade says that Philip, revising his brother's poems, brought about "very considerable improvement in the technique and a considerable loss in imaginative beauty" (*Poetical Works*, p. xii). One may hold that the parts of the last statement are irreconcilable, since the purpose of technique in poetry is to secure imaginative beauty; but obviously the writer is thinking of such matters as the more difficult language of Thomas' autograph, or perhaps of what led Miss Iredale to say of *The Improvement* that "irregularities of rhythm are corrected at the expense of vigour and clarity" (p. 70). Miss Iredale speaks also of the greater "freedom and simplicity" of Thomas' version. To Philip she also attributes the spoiling of fine lines, as might be expected from a "practical and not a poetic mind" (p. 76). Dr. Christ has a theory to explain the difference: "Genauer formuliert besteht die Tendenz, den kühneren, barocken Ausdruck durch einen gemässigten, verständemäs-

<sup>28</sup> This suggests that Thomas revised mentally as he made his fair copy; otherwise, he must have made a copy intervening between the lost manuscript, from which Philip may have worked, and the autograph.

<sup>29</sup> See the suggestion in the next to the last paragraph of Section I, above.



sigeren, rationalistischen zu ersetzen; das bedeutet eine Annäherung an moderne, an klassizistische Ausdrucksweise" (p. 17). But all these critics allow something to Philip's versions. They are still poetry, even though in certain respects inferior to the form set by Thomas. Yet no one asserts that Philip was a poet; Miss Wade thinks that the two works of his own with which he prefaced *Poems of Felicity* do little "to increase our estimation of his poetical powers."<sup>20</sup>

The effect of variants between the two manuscripts is clear only when the two texts are closely compared. Two versions of two poems are here presented as samples; all changes are indicated by italics.

*The Praeparative* (BURNES MS)

1

My Body being dead, my Limbs unknown;  
Before I skill'd to prize  
Those living Stars, mine Eys;  
Before *or* Tongues or Cheeks I call'd mine own,  
Before I knew *these* Hands were mine,  
Or that my Sinews did my Members join;  
When neither Nostril, foot, nor Ear,  
As yet *could be discern'd*, or did appear;  
I was within

A House I knew not; newly cloath'd with Skin.

2

Then was my Soul my only All to me,  
A living endless Ey,  
Scarce bounded with the Sky,  
Whose Power, *and* Act, *and* Essence was to see:  
I was an inward Sphere of Light,  
Or an interminable Orb of Sight,  
*Exceeding that which makes the Days*,  
A vital Sun that *shed abroad his Rays*:  
All Life, all Sense,  
A naked, simple, pure Intelligence.

3

I then no Thirst nor Hunger did perceiv;  
No *dire* Necessity  
Nor Want was known to me:  
Without disturbance then I did receiv  
The *tru* Ideas of all Things,  
The *Hony* did enjoy without the Stings.  
A meditating inward Ey

<sup>20</sup> Wade, *Traherne*, p. 176. Miss Wade also gives unfavorable judgment of Philip as a poet in the belief that he is responsible for the variants in the Burnes MS (pp. 112, 176; *Poetical Works*, pp. xi, 256). She is more favorable to the corrections in his handwriting. With this favorable judgment, as given in detail in *Poetical Works*, p. 256, and reaffirmed in *Traherne*, p. 176, I disagree. Even the places where Thomas has, perhaps carelessly, abandoned the pattern of a stanza or used an oft-repeated rime, or even made a slip of the pen, are better so than in Philip's unpoetical corrected forms.

R. Warwick Bond in his copy of the *Poetical Works* (London, 1906), now in my library, notes that the fourth stanza of *Desire* departs in one line from the rime scheme of the other stanzas.

Gazing at Quiet did within me ly,  
 And *all things fair*  
 Delighted me that was to be their Heir.

4

For *Light* inherits Beauty; Hearing, Sounds;  
 The Nostril, sweet Perfumes;  
 All Tastes have *secret* Rooms  
 Within the Tongue; *the Touching* feeleth Wounds  
 Of Pain or Pleasure; and yet I  
 Forgot the rest, and was all Sight or Ey,  
 Unbody'd and devoid of Care,  
 Just as in Hev'n the Holy Angels are:  
 For simple Sense  
 Is Lord of all created Excellence.

5

Being thus prepar'd for all Felicity;  
 Not praeposess with Dross,  
 Nor *basely* glued to gross  
 And dull Materials that might ruin me,  
 Nor fetter'd by an Iron Fate  
 By vain Affections in my earthy State,  
 To any thing that *should* seduce  
 My Sense, or els bereav it of its Use;  
 I was as free  
 As if there were nor Sin nor Misery.

6

Pure *nativ* Powers that *Corruption* loath,  
 Did, like the fairest Glass  
 Or spotless polisht Brass,  
 Themselvs soon in their Object's Image cloath:  
 Divine Impressions, when they came,  
 Did quickly enter and my Soul enflame.  
 'Tis not the Object, but the Light,  
 That maketh Hev'n: 'Tis a *clearer* Sight.  
 Felicity  
 Appears to none but them that purely see.

7

A disentangled and a naked Sense,  
 A Mind that's unpossest,  
 A disengaged Breast,  
 A *quick unprejudic'd* Intelligence  
 Acquainted with the Golden Mean,  
 An even Spirit, *quiet*, and serene,  
 Is that where *Wisdom's* Excellence  
 And Pleasure keep their Court of Residence.  
 My Soul *get free*  
 And then thou may'st possess Felicity.

*The Preparative* (DOBELL MS)

1

My Body being Dead, my Lims unknown;  
 Before I skild to prize  
 Those living Stars mine Eys,  
 Before my Tongue or Cheeks *were to me shewn*,  
 Before I knew my Hands were mine,

Or that my Sinews did my Members joyn,  
 When neither Nostril, Foot, nor Ear,  
 As yet *was seen, or felt*, or did appear;  
 I was within  
 A House I knew not, newly clothd with Skin.

2

Then was my Soul my only All to me,  
 A Living Endless Ey,  
*Just* bounded with the Skie  
 Whose Power, *whose* Act, *whose* Essence was to see.  
 I was an inward Sphere of Light,  
 Or an Interminable Orb of Sight,  
*An Endless and a Living Day*,  
 A vital Sun that *round about* did ray  
 All Life, all Sence,  
 A Naked Simple Pure Intelligence.

3

I then no Thirst nor Hunger did perceiv,  
 No *dull* Necessity,  
 No Want was Known to me;  
 Without Disturbance then I did receiv  
 The *fair* Ideas of all Things,  
*And had the Hony even* without the Stings.  
 A Meditating Inward Ey  
 Gazing at Quiet did within me lie,  
*And evry Thing*  
 Delighted me that was *their* *Heaznly* King.

4

For *Sight* inherits Beauty, Hearing Sounds,  
 The Nostril Sweet Perfumes,  
 All Tastes have *hidden* Rooms  
 Within the Tongue; *and Feeling Feeling* Wounds  
*With Pleasure and Delight; but* I  
 Forgot the rest, and was all Sight, or Ey.  
 Unbodied and Devoid of Care,  
 Just as in Heavn the Holy Angels, are.  
 For Simple Sence  
 Is Lord of all Created Excellence.

5

Being thus prepar'd for all Felicity,  
 Not prepossest with Dross,  
 Nor *stiffly* glued to gross  
 And dull Materials that might ruine me,  
 Not fetterd by an Iron Fate  
*With* vain Affections in my Earthy State  
 To any thing that *might* Seduce  
 My Sence, or els bereave it of its use  
 I was as free  
 As if there were nor Sin, nor Miseric.

6

Pure *Empty* Powers that *did nothing* loath,  
 Did like the fairest Glass,  
 Or spotless polisht Brass,  
 Themselvs soon in their Objects Image cloath.  
 Divine Impressions when they came,

Did quickly enter and my Soul enflame.  
 'Tis not the Object, but the Light  
 That maketh Heaven; Tis a *Purer* Sight.  
 Felicitie  
 Appears to none but them that purely see.  
 7  
 A Disentangled and a Naked Sence  
 A Mind that's unpossesst,  
 A Disengaged Brest,  
 An *Empty* and a *Quick* Intelligence  
 Acquainted with the Golden Mean,  
 An Even Spirit *Pure* and Serene  
 Is that where *Beauty*, Excellence,  
 And Pleasure keep their Court of Residence.  
 My Soul retire,  
 Get free, and so thou shalt even all Admire.

The differences in the first stanza are in the direction of emphasizing sight. The Dobell version of the second is more vivid and unusual. In the third, *dull* is a change of idea from the conventional *dire*; the last line suggests Thomas' unconventional religion. In the fourth,<sup>31</sup> the word *wounds* is difficult; the final version gives it a strained but poetical meaning.<sup>32</sup> In the fifth, the difference between *basely* and *stifly* is that between the vague and the expressive. *Native*, in the sixth, is less in accord with the idea than *empty*, which also comes in the next stanza. The concluding verses are more difficult in the Dobell version but are more strictly thought out, since the theme of the poem is not mere Felicity but felicity "for them that purely see."

*The Enquiry* (BURNEY MS)

1

Men may delighted be with Springs,  
 (While Trees and Herbs their Senses pleas,) *Reap a rich Harvest from the Earth and Seas;*  
 May think their Members things  
 Of earthly Worth at least, if not divine;  
 And sing, because the *Sun doth for them shine:*

2

But can the Angels take Delight  
 To see such Faces here beneath?  
 Or can Perfumes from *sordid* Dunghills breath?  
 Or is the World a Sight  
 Worthy of them? Then may we Mortals be  
*Joint-Heirs with them of wide Eternity.*

<sup>31</sup> The *Light* of line 1 seems a mere error in reading.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Stevenson:

Lord, Thy most pointed pleasure take  
 And stab my spirit broad awake (*The Celestial Surgeon*).

## 3

Ev'n Holy Angels may com down  
 To walk on Earth, and *find* Delights  
 That feed and pleas, ev'n here, their Appetites;  
 Our Joys *compose* a Crown  
 For them. *Men in God's Tabernacle* may be,  
*Where Palm-Trees* with the Cherubs *mix'd we see.*

## 4

Mens Senses are indeed the Gems;  
 Their Praises the most sweet Perfumes;  
 Their *God-like Souls* do fill the hev'nly Rooms  
*Where Angels walk: the Pens*  
*And Eys of those blest Spirits* are employ'd  
*To Note our Virtues, wherewith they are joy'd.*

## 5

The Wonders *that* our God hath don;  
 The *Glory* of His Attributes,  
 Like dangling Apples, or *much better* Fruits,  
 Angelick Joys becom:  
*They see* His Wisdom and His Lov doth flow  
 Like Myrrh or Incense, even here below.

## 6

And shall not We *those* Joys possess  
 Which God for Man did chiefly make?  
 The Angels have them only for Our sake!  
 And yet, They *do* confess  
 His Glory here on Earth to be sublime,  
 His God-head in His Works *appears Divine.*

*The Enquirie* (DOBELL MS)

## 1

Men may delighted be with Springs,  
 While Trees and Herbs their Senses pleas,  
*And taste even living Nectar in the Seas:*  
 May think their Members things  
 Of Earthly Worth at least, if not Divine,  
 And Sing becaus the *Earth* for them doth Shine.

## 2

But can the Angels take Delight  
 To see such Faces here beneath?  
 Or can Perfumes *indeed* from Dunghils breath?  
 Or is the World a Sight  
 Worthy of them? Then may we Mortals be  
 Surrounded with *Eternal Claritie.*

## 3

Even Holy Angels may com down  
 To walk on Earth, and *see* Delights,  
 That feed and pleas, even here, their Appetites.  
 Our Joys *may make* a Crown  
 For them. *And in his Tabernacle* Men may be  
 Like *Palmes* with the Cherubs mingled see.

## 4

Mens Sences are indeed the Gems,  
 Their Praises the most Sweet Perfumes,  
 Their *Eys the Thrones, their Hearts the Heavnlly Rooms,*  
*Their Souls the Diadems,*  
*Their Tongues the Organs which they lov to hear,*  
*Their Cheeks and faces like to theirs appear.*

## 5

The Wonders which our God hath done,  
 The *Glories* of his Attributes,  
 Like dangling Apples or like *Golden Fruits,*  
 Angelick Joys become.  
 His Wisdom *Shines, on Earth;* his Lov doth flow,  
 Like Myrrh or Incense, even here below.

## 6

And shall not we *such* Joys possess,  
 Which God for Man did chiefly make?  
 The Angels hav them only for our sake!  
 And yet they *all* confess  
 His Glory here on Earth to be *Divine,*  
 And that his GODHEAD in his Works *doth shine.*

The change in line 3 removes the idea of profit. The shining of the *sun* in the last line of Stanza 1 is commonplace, though possible for a poet delighting in the creation, while that of the *earth* is more striking and characteristic of Thomas Traherne. Stanza 2 in the Dobell MS is less vague and more distinctive. Stanza 3 ends with a closer association of angel and man. The two versions of Stanza 4 exhibit the difference between a continued figure and a series. In the fifth stanza the characteristic *shine* appears, introducing a figure parallel with the second half of the line. In the Burney version the last lines are conventional.

Miss Iredale, like Dr. Bell and Miss Wade, finds the Burney MS somewhat the more orthodox of the two.<sup>33</sup> In particular, it does not contain the line

To see all Creatures full of Deities (*Dumnesse*).

It also does not speak of man as rewarding God (*The Estate*, St. 4). The same stanza has also the pious convention of a "bended knee," which does not appear in the autograph. So few and so slight are the passages that can be cited as tinged with the unorthodox that one inclines to put them all with the other more conventional variants as merely less excellent poetry.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Iredale, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 ff.; Bell, *op. cit.*, p. xxvi; Wade, *Poetical Works*, p. xi.

<sup>34</sup> Miss Iredale suggests that Philip may have been disturbed by Thomas' reference to himself as God's "Son and Heir" (*The Salutation*). But one may recall Galatians 4:7: "Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son, and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ." Cf. also I John 3:2: "For now are we the Sons of God." The last is quoted in *A Contemplation*, "Thanksgivings for the Blessedness of God's Ways," p. 59. *Meds.* 3.97 explains "what it is to be the Sons of God." For further instances see *A Contemplation*, pp. 36, 58, 70, 100, 107; "Of Magnanimitie" (ed. Slater), p. 12.

But the difference in tone of the two manuscripts is not merely that of the two versions of duplicated poems. It depends also on those poems found in but one copy. The amount of orthodox commonplace or churchliness in the autograph poems is very small. All of them together contain but one reference to the Saviour; the author is not marked as a clergyman.<sup>35</sup>

In Philip's collection there is more of the professional churchman, though still much less than in the poems of George Herbert. Jesus is mentioned in four poems (*The World, On Christmas-Day, Bells II, The Inference II*). There is some interest in the church edifice (*Solitude, Churches I and II, The City*), and its bells (*Solitude, On Christmas-Day, Bells I and II*). One poem is entitled *The Bible*; the Scriptures are also mentioned in *Dissatisfaction* and in *The Evidence*. This is a small showing for the religious poetry of a cleric. It is the more striking that even this little was not carried into the autograph. It is true that the Dobell MS gives only negative evidence; we do not know that the author was not contemplating a section of ecclesiastical poems; yet, if so, Philip's manuscript probably would include more of them.

Another type of poem more frequent in the Burney than in the Dobell MS is the autobiographical poem, or the poem stated in autobiographical terms. In this group are *An Infant-Ey, News*—also in *Meds. 3.26*—, *The World, Solitude, Poverty, Dissatisfaction, Christendom, On Christmas-Day, Shadows in the Water, On Leaping over the Moon, To the same purpos*. As put in the form of an experience of the author's rather than as giving his thoughts, the foregoing are to be distinguished from such poems as *Sight* and *Insatiableness I*, and from a number of poems in the Dobell MS. Procedure by means of what seems a brief narrative of personal experience appears in the Dobell MS only in *Wonder*.

Direct allusion to the ills of the world is not frequent in the Dobell MS, except in *Wonder* and possibly in *Eden*, but something of it appears in the additional poems in the Burney MS, as *Dissatisfaction* and *Right Apprehension*. *An Infant-Ey* seems to make it autobiographical:

But Wantonness and Avarice got in  
And spoil'd my Wealth.

Poems suggesting despair in a wicked world, as *Solitude* and *Insatiableness*, are not characteristic of the autograph.

The Biblical references in the Burney poems are more literal. *Adam's Fall* and *The World* almost tell Adam's story and moralize on it; in *Eden* (both manuscripts) the story is absorbed or used allusively.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. in *A Contemplation* ("Thanksgivings for the Beauty of His Providence"), "Our Ministers, Bishops, Pastors, Churches, Sacraments, Liturgy, Sabbaths, Bibles, Laws Ecclesiastical, Establishment of Tythes, Universities, Colledges, liberal Maintenance of our Saviours Clergy, Christian Schools, Cathedrals and Quires, where they sing his praises" (p. 92).



It is apparent that the poems in the Dobell MS tend away from those in the Burney MS. In his selection the poet departed from the conventionally ecclesiastical, from the literal, from the obviously personal. If the autograph manuscript is taken as representing his own feeling, one must infer that he was led in that direction by his poetical taste. The qualities just indicated as distinguishing the Dobell from the Burney MS are not matters of detail; yet the detailed differences between the two manuscripts tell something of the same story, the story of a poetical taste in the autograph less conventional than in the Burney manuscript. Is it not likely that the poet's own taste is exhibited in one case through revision as in the other through his selection?<sup>36</sup>

Some of these differences have already been noted in passing from part to part of the *Centuries*. The most universally poetical part of the prose work, the first half of the First Century, corresponds to the Dobell MS in its lack of churchly and Trinitarian reference.<sup>37</sup> The whole body of poetry, however, is relatively less churchly than are the *Meditations*. The prose, then, somewhat reinforces the opinion that as Traherne tended more toward the best of his art he departed from Christian dogma and moved toward a more universal expression of religious belief. The poems selected by the poet himself emerge from the mass of papers Philip struggled with, just as the most poetical of the *Meditations* emerge from the mass of theology, autobiography, ethical teaching, and Christian aspiration of the Five Centuries.

Altogether, it appears that the Burney MS gives the incomplete work of Thomas rather than the ill-advised corrections of Philip. Yet the relation between the two forms of any poem is not of primary consequence, since the versions in the autograph manuscript are universally admitted to be poetically superior to those in Philip's copy. So far as the Burney MS presents the meddling of a non-poet, it is worthless; the new poems it contains are valuable only insofar as they preserve something of the work of Thomas. If Philip's inferior versions of the poems in the autograph are taken from the poet's own unfinished drafts, they show the artist laboring toward perfection and enable a reader to see how under the maker's hand poetry grows more poetical.

(To be continued.)

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<sup>36</sup> Dr. Bell (*op. cit.*, p. xxviii) believes that some of the new poems in the Burney MS are among their author's best. If this is true, one may suppose that Thomas, if he had continued his autograph selection, would have included them. On the other hand, when Dr. Bell points out a flat line, he takes his instance from a poem found only in the Burney MS. One may ask if this is not an unrevised poem which the author intended to abandon or polish.

<sup>37</sup> For a striking coincidence in subject, cf. *Meds.* 1.41 ff. and *The Anticipation and Desire*.

## THE RAPE OF THE LOCK AND POPE'S HOMER

By WILLIAM FROST

In a provocative article on "The Mode of Existence of a Literary Work of Art," Professor René Wellek has recently observed that a poem, or any work of literature,

. . . has something which can be called 'Life.' It arises at a certain point of time, changes in the course of history and may perish. A work of art is 'timeless' only in the sense that, if preserved, it has some fundamental structure of identity since its creation, but it is 'historical' too. It has a development which can be described. This development is nothing but the series of concretizations of a given work of art in the course of history, which we may, to a certain extent, reconstruct from the reports of critics and readers about their experiences and judgments, and the effect of a given work of art on other works.<sup>1</sup>

Without recourse even to the reports of critics and readers it is now possible, on the basis of evidence presented in Professor Geoffrey Tillotson's admirable footnotes to Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, to reconstruct a neglected, and somewhat puzzling, chapter in the early development of that poem. It has become clear, from Professor Tillotson's citations, that *The Rape of the Lock*, as a parody-epic, was incomplete (at the time of publication) even in its five-canto incarnation, and that it would remain incomplete until certain examples of epic style, parodied in the *Rape*, should appear in print.

To be specific, the 1714, five-canto *Rape of the Lock* embodies in its satire lines and couplets decidedly mimicking Pope's own translation of Homer, which began appearing in 1715 and was not completely before the public until 1726. After a few words on the general method of mock-epic in the *Rape*, I will present and analyze in detail instances of this unusual poetic proceeding.

### I

The rhetoric of *The Rape of the Lock* is not only based on the rhetoric of the classical epic, but is based on it in such a way that an attentive Augustan reader, even though he might be unskillful in Greek and Latin, would instantly recognize Pope's language as epical if he were fairly well read in the English literature of the age. For example, in Pope's day the most celebrated recent contribution to the epic in English had been Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid* (1697), a work which Pope takes pains to echo unmistakably at a number of points in *The Rape of the Lock*. In the sixth book of the English *Aeneid*—to glance at one passage—the hero, on a tour of the underworld, visits the Elysian Fields, where he meets the souls of the

<sup>1</sup> *Southern Review*, VII (1941-42). The passage quoted is on page 752.

blessed disporting themselves; and, in the midst of a description of their games, the following couplet occurs:

The love of Horses, which they had, alive,  
And care of Chariots, after Death survive.  
(VI, 889 f.)

Early in the first book of *The Rape of the Lock*, Ariel describes to Belinda in a dream the future immortal existence of woman:

Think not, when Woman's transient Breath is fled,  
That all her Vanities at once are dead; . . .  
Her Joy in gilded Chariots, when alive,  
And Love of Ombre, after Death survive.  
(I, 51 ff.)

Belinda is to have her own mock-Elysian Fields; and, as Pope's editor points out, the "Chariots" have acquired an effective double meaning from the fact that London carriages of Pope's own time were often so called.

Similarly, in the opening to Canto IV of *The Rape of the Lock* Pope means his readers to recall the opening of a more famous fourth book. "But anxious Cares the pensive Nymph oppress," he writes; just as Dryden had written "But anxious cares already seiz'd the Queen" (IV, 1)—and Belinda becomes another queenly Dido.<sup>2</sup>

Dryden's *Aeneid* was not, of course, the only work whose English style Pope found suggestive of epic manner. The author of *Genesis* may not be strictly an heroic poet, but his famous sentence "And God said, 'Let there be light,' and there was light" (1:3) had been commended by Longinus as the very zenith of sublimity in literature—a commendation Pope did not forget when he wrote "*Let Spades be Trumps!* she said, and Trumps they were" (III, 46). In like manner, the frivolous clutter of Belinda's dressing table—"Puffs, Powders, Patches, Bibles, Billet-doux" (I, 138)—has its dignified ancestor in the horrific confusion of Milton's Hell: "Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and Shades of Death" (*Paradise Lost*, II, 621). Still other works and authors laid under contribution for Pope's heroic diction were: Virgil's *Georgics*, Cowley's  *Davideis*, Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther*, Ovid in several translations, Dryden's Juvenal, Lucan, Statius, Shakespeare, Chaucer, Donne.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the most extended and sustained piece of epic parody in the whole poem, however, is based on a translation from ancient epic made by Pope himself: I refer to the famous speech of Clarissa

<sup>2</sup> In the shorter, 1712 *Rape of the Lock*, the "anxious Cares" line opens the second canto. The opportunity to have it begin the fourth canto (and more neatly) was doubtless one of the advantages Pope saw in expanding the poem. A minor point—but with a workman like Pope we are not justified in assuming coincidence.

<sup>3</sup> See the Twickenham edition footnotes, from which most of the citations in this article derive.

at the beginning of the fifth canto of the *Rape*, which amounts to a delicate burlesque of the equally famous speech of Sarpedon, the Trojan captain, in the twelfth book of the *Iliad*. Before the appearance of *The Rape of the Lock*, this speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus had already been made familiar to eighteenth-century readers in three translations or adaptations: that of Motteux, the translator of *Don Quixote*, in *The Muse's Mercury*, Volume I (1707); that of John Denham, the author of *Cooper's Hill*, in 1668 (republished, as Professor Tillotson notes, in *Miscellany Poems, The First Part*, third edition, 1702); and that of Pope, in Tonson's *Poetical Miscellanies: The Sixth Part* (1709).

In view of the use which I shall show Pope to have made of certain passages in his as yet unpublished *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, it is interesting to note that of these three versions of Sarpedon's speech at hand, in print and familiar to him, it was his own which he chose as a model for Clarissa's phrasing.<sup>4</sup> The most important echoes are the following:

SARPEDON:

Why on those Shores are we with Joy survey'd. . .  
Unless great Acts superior Merit prove. . . ?  
(XII, 377, 379)

CLARISSA:

How vain are all these Glories, all our Pains,  
Unless good Sense preserve what Beauty gains. . . .  
(V, 15-16)

SARPEDON:

'Tis ours, the Dignity They [the Gods] give, to grace;  
The first in Valour, as the first in Place.<sup>5</sup> . . .  
(XII, 381-82)

CLARISSA:

That Men may say, when we the Front-box grace,  
Behold the first in Virtue, as in Face!  
(V, 17-18)

SARPEDON:

But since, alas, ignoble Age must come,  
Disease, and Death's inexorable Doom. . . .  
(XII, 391-92)

<sup>4</sup> Here I am in disagreement with Professor Tillotson, who says in his note (p. 195) that "Clarissa's speech is in some ways a closer parody on Denham's version than on Pope's." I have found only one line of which this might be true: Clarissa's "Why Angels call'd, and Angel-like ador'd" is closer to Denham's "As Gods behold us and as Gods adore" than to Pope's corresponding "Admir'd as Heroes, and as Gods obey'd." There seems to be no other close verbal parody of Denham, however; and there are at least three sure echoes of Pope's version.

<sup>5</sup> This line shows Pope's familiarity with Motteux' adaptation of the speech (Motteux has "The First in Valour, as in Rank the First," p. 69), and thus perhaps indicates a date of composition for Pope's *Episode of Sarpedon* not earlier than 1707.

CLARISSA:

But since, alas! frail Beauty must decay,  
Curl'd or uncurl'd, since Locks will turn to grey. . . .  
(V, 25-26)

The second echo, involving as it does a surprise rime-word, is particularly subtle. The ear that remembers Sarpedon's speech—and we may be sure that Pope's ear, at least, remembered it clearly enough—expects "Behold the first in Virtue, as in *Place*"; and "Place," of course, would be a perfectly fitting word for Clarissa to use, in view of the "Front-box" of the preceding line. It would be more than fitting, in fact, it would be admirably satiric; for when Sarpedon speaks of his "Place," he is referring to his position among the generals and noblemen of Troy, whereas Clarissa is talking about a good seat at the theatre. But how much better, in the context of Clarissa's whole speech, is "Face"! Not only does it create the shock of surprise and of an unfamiliar, imaginative expression (in ordinary speech we do not customarily refer to a preëminent beauty as "the first in Face"), but it also throws Clarissa's emphasis precisely where Pope wants it: on *physical* beauty, the melancholy characteristic of which is its transitoriness:

Curl'd or uncurl'd, since Locks will turn to grey,  
Since painted, or not painted, all shall fade. . . .

To call such writing as this a parody is almost to belittle it. Sarpedon's speech is predominantly heroic, Clarissa's elegiac; reminiscences of heroism blend into the elegy, forming one strain of its melancholy music. This is particularly true of the third parallel cited above.

## II

An examination of Professor Tillotson's footnotes to *The Rape of the Lock* reveals some fifty-odd citations of Pope's translations of Homer, most of them<sup>6</sup> citations from his *Iliad*. Some of these references have nothing to do with diction,<sup>7</sup> and might just as well have been made to the text of the original; others seem to involve only the poetic small change of the time (phrases like "distinguish'd Care," I, 27; and "giddy Motion," II, 134), and thus constitute, at most, vague, rather than precise, echoes of heroic rhetoric. But some, I feel sure, are intentional parallels to specific lines in Pope's Homer, meant to elevate *The Rape of the Lock* by their verbal echoes of a loftier argument, and to diminish by contrast the people and the activities that make up Belinda's story.

<sup>6</sup> For the *Odyssey*, see the notes to Canto I, 27; I, 112; II, 32; III, 19 f.; III, 86; III, 101; III, 131 f.; IV, 82; IV, 140; V, 85 f.

<sup>7</sup> Such as that to (Pope's) *Iliad*, III, 175 ff., in the note to the review of forces at the card table (Canto III, 37 ff.), where the parallel is of situation, rather than language.

For the student of the poem, such a situation raises three sets of problems. First of all, in the case of any given parallel, can we be sure that the parody is directed at Pope's translation of Homer, and not at the original Greek or some earlier English version of it? Secondly, assuming that a given passage can be shown to parallel Pope's translation specifically, rather than the original Greek or an earlier English version, have we established a date of composition not later than the publication of the *Rape*, for certain parts of Pope's Homer? In other words, did Pope, in 1712 or 1714, already possess in manuscript (or in mind) the telling Homeric phrases he echoes in *The Rape of the Lock*? Or, conversely, is it more probable that, years after the *Rape* had seen the light, he deliberately enriched that poem by inventing, and weaving into Homer, passages for which parallels in the *Rape* already existed? Which came first, in the poet's inventive soul—the poem or the parody? Thirdly, could not the echoes have been merely fortuitous—or rather, have they, whether fortuitous or intentional, a real artistic significance in the fabric of the *Rape*? And if so, what is that significance?

To give categorical answers to all these questions does not seem to me possible on the basis of existing evidence. What I shall attempt is a discussion of six such passages<sup>8</sup>—the six I believe to be the most crucial ones—and an indication of what some of the probabilities are in each instance.

(1) An exciting moment in the Ombre game of the enlarged, 1714, *Rape of the Lock* (Canto III, lines 61-64), comes when Belinda takes the jack of clubs; or, as Pope has it,

Ev'n mighty Pam . . .  
Falls undistinguished by the Victor *Spade*!

Now the corpse of the mighty Pam (mighty because in the game of Loo he was the highest card), as it lies on the "velvet Plain" of the card-table top, recalls the corpse of the Trojan hero, great Sarpedon, who, in the sixteenth book of Pope's *Iliad* (1718), line 776,

Lies undistinguish'd from the vulgar dead.

The consonants of the second half of each line are worth noticing: "the vulgar dead," "the Victor *Spade*"—this is a subtle type of poetic reminiscence, which Pope manages with infinite delicacy, and which occurs more than once in the *Rape*.

The name of the Trojan hero seems to furnish a clue to the problem of precedence in the composition of the two lines, for the speech of Sarpedon, discussed above, formed in Pope's first translation of it part of *The Episode of Sarpedon*, from Homer's twelfth and six-

<sup>8</sup> Quotations are from the text of the Twickenham edition, Vol. II (London, 1940), for the *Rape*; and from the first edition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* translations (Griffith 39, 93, 112, 155, 166). The speech of Sarpedon, cited above, is from the text in Tonson's *Miscellanies* (Griffith 1).

teenth books, published in Tonson's 1709 *Miscellanies*, the famous volume which opened with Ambrose Philips' *Pastorals* and closed with Pope's. This *Episode* as there published did not, it is true, actually contain the "vulgar dead" line: it comprised what were to be lines 345-424 and 435-562 of Pope's twelfth book of the *Iliad*, and lines 512-624 and 809-36 of his sixteenth; in other words, Pope did not include lines 624-809 of the sixteenth book in his version of the Sarpedon story—and the "vulgar dead" line is number 776. But Pope may not have skipped this part when he was originally composing the translation; indeed, he may even have wanted to print more than Tonson felt he could use: the publisher hints in his preface that he had more material for this collection than he was able to take care of.<sup>9</sup> Hence the line in question may well have existed in manuscript—or in the poet's consciousness—when he was preparing the 1714 *Rape of the Lock*.

The possibility remains that the "Victor *Spade*" line in the *Rape* might have been suggested by Homer's original Greek, or by a seventeenth-century translation of it; but this possibility vanishes upon investigation. The complete English translations of the *Iliad* before Pope's were those of Chapman (1611), Ogilby (1660), and Hobbes (1675).<sup>10</sup> None of these contains anything even close to Pope's "Lies undistinguish'd from the vulgar dead," and for a very good reason: there is nothing to correspond to it in Homer himself. I do not mean to suggest that Pope has been unfaithful to Homer's general *sense* in his rendering; he has merely rearranged matters and polished them up a bit. The entire passage in question, in Professor A. T. Murray's translation (which follows the Greek closely), is as follows:

Nor could a man, though he knew him well, any more have discerned goodly Sarpedon, for that he was utterly enwrapped with darts and blood and dust, from his head to the very soles of his feet.<sup>11</sup>

Of the three seventeenth-century versions, Ogilby's is the one which, at this particular point, most closely approaches to what Pope produced; Ogilby's is as follows:

And now Sarpedon none could know, all o're  
From Head to Heel besmear'd with Dust and Gore,

<sup>9</sup> See Tonson's "The Bookseller to the Reader" (at the beginning of the *Miscellany*): "... I have been forced to omit several of the copies sent, upon the publick Notice given, otherways this Volume would have swell'd beyond the Size of any of the former ones. I shall reserve those for another Volume. . . ." Evidently he was pressed for space.

<sup>10</sup> Of the various translations of excerpts from Homer—such as those by Hall, Congreve, Maynwaring, Yalden, Dryden, and others—I have examined the available ones that bear on the passages discussed here. Thomas Grantham's first three books of the *Iliad* (1660) I have not seen.

<sup>11</sup> Loeb Classical Library (London and New York, 1919); *Iliad*, XVI, 638-40. All quotations of Murray's version are from this edition.



Trampled and dragg'd, with Arms and Truncheons hid;  
Whilst each to gain the Corps their utmost did.<sup>12</sup>

Pope's translation of the passage, in full, runs:

Now great *Sarpedon*, on the sandy Shore,  
His heav'nly Form defac'd with Dust and Gore,  
And stuck with Darts by warring Heroes shed,  
Lies undistinguish'd from the vulgar dead.  
(XVI, 773-76)

The only equivalent in the original for Pope's fourth line is Homer's remark that even a sagacious man would not have been able to identify *Sarpedon*. We are left with three possible hypotheses: (i) the echo in *The Rape of the Lock* is a chance coincidence, (ii) the "vulgar dead" line had already been composed when Pope wrote the longer *Rape*, or (iii) Pope deliberately put the "vulgar dead" line into his Homer in order to heighten the satiric effect of *The Rape of the Lock*, after the completion of the latter poem. Pope's usually minute methods of workmanship, as well as the fact that other instances of this kind occur in *The Rape of the Lock*, make hypothesis (i) seem the least likely. While I see no inherent objection against (iii), the fact that as early as 1709 Pope had been working with the *Sarpedon* story in the sixteenth book of the *Iliad* disposes me to accept (ii), tentatively, as the most probable theory about this particular passage. If (ii) be correct, we have evidence that at least part of the *Iliad* was composed several years before publication.

(2) The parallel between the Baron's oath in the fourth canto of the *Rape* and that of Achilles in the first book of the *Iliad* is a brilliant one, to which Pope himself called attention in a note to the 1714 edition of the former. (The Baron's oath, with an unimportant difference of one word, had already appeared in the 1712 version.) Since Pope himself did call attention to the matter before his own *Iliad* was out, we may assume he expected his readers to recall and compare the original Greek (as well they might); but his own translation is closer to the parody in one striking particular. I present the two for comparison; first the translation of Homer (1715):

Now by this sacred Sceptre, hear me swear,  
Which never more shall Leaves or Blossoms bear,  
Which sever'd from the Trunk (as I from thee)  
On the bare Mountains left its Parent Tree;  
(I, 309-12)

next the oath in *The Rape of the Lock*:

But by this Lock, this sacred Lock I swear,  
(Which never more shall join its parted Hair,  
Which never more its Honours shall renew,  
Clipt from the lovely Head where late it grew). . . .  
(IV, 133-36)

<sup>12</sup> John Ogilby's *Homer his Iliads Translated* (London: Printed by James Flesher, 1669), p. 366. All quotations of Ogilby are from this edition.

Pope's translation (except for his parenthetical "as I from thee") varies from the original in no important particular; but it is interesting to note that the word "sever'd," to which "clipt" in the *Rape* satirically corresponds, has no basis in the Greek, Homer having merely said (*Iliad*, I, line 235) that the staff left (ἀέλοισεν) its stump among the mountains. Thus Hobbes translates "hath left behind/ The stock. . .";<sup>13</sup> and Chapman, "since first it left the hills. . .".<sup>14</sup>

In dealing with the first book of the *Iliad*, however, there is yet another English version (Ogilby's having no relevance to the "sever'd"—"clipt" parallel) to be considered: that of Dryden in his *Fables* (1700). Dryden handles the passage in question as follows:

But, by this Scepter, solemnly I swear,  
(Which never more green Leaf or growing Branch shall bear:  
Torn from the Tree, and giv'n by *Jove* to those  
Who Laws dispense and mighty Wrongs oppose). . . .<sup>15</sup>

The first two and a half lines here are sufficiently similar to both Pope's translations and the Baron's oath to suggest that they formed the model for both, Dryden's "Torn from the Tree" very likely having originally suggested Pope's "Clipt from the lovely Head where late it grew."<sup>16</sup> In this case, therefore, we do not need to suppose either that Pope wrote some of the first book of his *Iliad* before 1712, or that, writing it later, he derived this particular piece of diction from *The Rape of the Lock*—but I think it probable that he bore the latter poem in mind when he came to translate Achilles' oath.

(3) In the second book of Pope's *Iliad* (published 1715), the following line occurs in the course of Agamemnon's important speech in which, to test the temper of the Argive host, he craftily counsels retreat to Greece because of the supposed impossibility of taking Troy:

And Troy prevails by Armies not her own (160).

At the close of the first canto of the 1714 *Rape of the Lock*, Pope indicates how much Belinda's toilet owed to the Sylphs, and at the

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Hobbes' *English Works*, ed. Sir William Molesworth (London, 1844), Vol. X (the translation of Homer), *Iliad*, I, 222-23. I have used this edition for all quotations of Hobbes.

<sup>14</sup> George Chapman's *The Iliads of Homer*, ed. Rev. Richard Hooper, 2nd ed. (London, 1865), I, 234. Quotations of Chapman are made from this text.

<sup>15</sup> John Dryden's *Poems*, ed. John Sargeant (London, 1910), lines 348-51.

<sup>16</sup> The appearance of this passage in the *Rape* influenced yet another translation of the first book of the *Iliad*—that of Thomas Tickell, which appeared in the same year as Pope's and partly occasioned Pope's quarrel with Addison. Compare with the last two lines quoted above from the Baron's oath the following couplet of Tickell's (*The First Book of Homer's Iliad Translated* [London, 1715]):

Which never more its Verdure must renew,  
Lopp'd from the Vital Stemm, whence first it grew (pp. 16-17).

(Note especially the rime-words.) Pope, who made a minute analysis of Tickell's version, noticed this theft, which may have contributed to his irritation at Tickell. (See "Pope's Ms. Notes on Tickell's Homer," by Professor Conington, in *Fraser's Magazine*, LXII [1860].)

same time ironically compares the labors of her maid with the efforts of the Trojans:

And Betty's prais'd for Labours not her own (148).

It is hard to believe that this could have been a chance echo. In addition to the obvious similarities in structure, the two verbs, "prevails" and "prais'd," sound just enough alike to reinforce the parallel (compare "vulgar dead" and "Victor *Spade*"). The "Betty's prais'd" line is emphatic by virtue of being the final line of the canto. Furthermore, the "Troy prevails" line represents a deliberate change in both the word order and the emphasis of the original Greek, of which Professor Murray's more literal version runs: "But allies there be out of many cities, men that wield the spear, who hinder me mightily. . ." (lines 130 ff.). Nor did the early English translators of the *Iliad* give the passage a twist similar to Pope's:

HOBBS:

But when upon their many aids I think,  
I wonder less that we no better speed (115-16).

CHAPMAN:

But their auxiliary bands, those brandishers of spears,  
From many cities drawn, are they that are our  
hinderers . . . (111-12).

OGILBY:

But their Auxiliars us far more annoy,  
Those mighty Nations which strong Javelins shake,  
Guarding the happy Bulwarks we would take (p. 36).

It seems clear to me, therefore, that either (a) Pope translated this part of the *Iliad* before he completed the five-canto *Rape of the Lock* or (b) Betty's "Labours not her own" suggested Agamemnon's rhetoric.

Of course, the two lines may well have been written about the same time. In December, 1713, Pope was finishing his additions to the *Rape*; and the following May found him "very busy in my grand undertaking"—that is, the translation of the *Iliad*.<sup>17</sup> The two lines could have sprung into being almost simultaneously; and the fact that the public would have to wait a year after *The Rape of the Lock* came out in order to appreciate the full force of the ending of its first canto need not have troubled the subtle poet in the least.

(4) A couplet in the "Moving Toyshop of the (Female) Heart" passage, in the first canto of *The Rape of the Lock*, occasions a veritable barrage of citations in the Twickenham edition footnotes; the couplet runs:

Where Wigs with Wigs, with Sword-knots Sword-knots strive,  
Beaus banish Beaus, and Coaches Coaches drive (100-01).

<sup>17</sup> See Pope's letters to Caryll in Pope's *Works*, ed. Elwin-Courthope, VI (1871), 199, 207.

Of the parallels referred to, the closest seems to me to be the following, from the thirteenth book of Pope's *Iliad* (published 1717):

Spears lean on Spears, on Targets Targets throng,  
Helms stuck to Helms, and Man drove Man along (181-82).

Another, however, from the fourth book (1715), is also very close:

Now Shield with Shield, with Helmet Helmet clos'd,  
To Armour Armour, Lance to Lance oppos'd. . . (508-09).

These parallels seem different from the others that we have been considering. I do not think that Pope at any time intended readers of the *Rape* to make a specific reference of this couplet to any particular one in the epic; that is, I do not think he planned any comparison between the varying vanities in the heart of his tender maid and any particular battlefield of the *Iliad*—such a comparison as he does seem to have planned between mighty Pam and great Sarpedon. The "Wigs with Wigs" couplet is intended, if I am correct, merely to suggest the atmosphere of classic poetry and heroic battlegrounds in general by means of a typically classical device of rhetoric—a device well illustrated by the couplet Professor Tillotson cites from Statius' *Thebaid* (an epic with which Pope was familiar):

Iam clipeus clipeis, umbone repellitur umbo  
Ense minax ensis, pede pes, et cuspidē cuspis. . . .  
(VIII, 398-99)

Such rhetoric would be equally appropriate to a neo-classical translation of Homer; and therefore the close resemblance between the two passages in Pope's *Iliad* and the couplet in the *Rape* need be pressed for no further significance.

(5) The following couplet, referring to Achilles, comes in the twentieth book of Pope's *Iliad* (completed 1718, published 1720):

But when the Day decreed (for come it must)  
Shall lay this dreadful Hero in the Dust. . . (385-86).

It invites comparison with the following couplet, which appears in both the 1712 and the 1714 texts of *The Rape of the Lock* (at II, 189-90, and V, 147-48, respectively):

When those fair suns shall sett, as sett they must,  
And all those Tresses shall be laid in Dust. . . .

Did Pope deliberately insert the former couplet into the *Iliad* in order to sharpen the satire of the already published *Rape of the Lock* finale? The six-year gap between publication of the latter and completion of the former certainly suggests that he did—and a glance at the text of Homer's *Iliad* at this point strengthens the conjecture. For the line in Homer which Pope rendered by his "dreadful Hero" couplet merely reads "But when Achilles has met his death and fate":

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κ' Ἀχιλεὺς θάνατον καὶ πότμον ἐπίσπῃ . . . (line 337).

Chapman translated it "But his fate once satisfied" (line 290); Hobbes, "When he is gone" (line 310); and Ogilby, "But when Achilles shall this Life forsake" (page 436). Only Pope, of the early translators, makes much of the line; and the "Dust" on which his *Rape of the Lock* echo partly depends is entirely his own embellishment of Homer. In the absence of any evidence that he had translated a part of the twentieth book of the *Iliad* as early as 1712, the most probable explanation of this delayed-action parody fairly clearly lies in an influence of *The Rape of the Lock* on the *Iliad*.

(6) The best parallel between *The Rape of the Lock* and Pope's *Odyssey*, though a very close parallel indeed, is less conclusive. Compare the following couplets, the first from the seventeenth book of the *Odyssey* (a book which Pope himself translated), the second from the first canto of the earlier *Rape*; the first published in 1726, the second in 1712:

'Till now declining tow'rd the close of day,  
The sun obliquely shot his dewy ray (687-88).

Now, when declining from the Noon of Day  
The Sun obliquely shoots his burning Ray. . . (83-84).

Here again, Pope's rendering is a considerable elaboration of Homer's Greek. Homer had merely said (line 606) "For late afternoon had already arrived," but Pope's diction seems ultimately to derive from a passage (cited in the Twickenham edition) in Ambrose Philips' much-mocked *Pastorals* of 1709, published in the same volume of Tonson's *Miscellanies* that contained *The Episode of Sarpedon*:

The Sun, now mounted to the Noon of Day,  
Began to shoot direct his burning Ray.  
(V, 7-8)

Possibly Pope's original couplet in the *Rape* was intended as a thrust at Philips; but since such an intention could hardly explain its appearance in his Homer fourteen years later, its resemblance to the *Odyssey* couplet must be put down to coincidence, the result of subconscious memory. In contrast to Philips, Pope seems to have taken his rays oblique, rather than straight; compare the following line from the *Odyssey*, Book VII:

Nor 'till oblique he slop'd his ev'ning ray. . . (372).

### III

The evidence in the foregoing examples of Pope's methods of composition cannot be said to lead to any one definite conclusion. Whether Pope wrote certain parts of his translations years before

the complete translations appeared, and mimicked those parts in his heroi-comical poem; whether, conversely, after writing the mock-epic in as heightened a style as he could command, he later added to the allusiveness of certain of his effects by surreptitious echoes newly dispersed through *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; or whether, as he translated, he subconsciously recalled to life old phrases which he once had used—which or what combination of these alternatives, or what other alternative, may be true, we are not likely to determine with scientific precision. For the biographer of Pope, the second and third alternatives seem the most probable. For the reader and critic of *The Rape of the Lock*, today or two centuries ago—any time since the publication of his Homer—the second alternative is literal truth: for the fact is that *The Rape of the Lock* is a better parody because Pope later created (and by “created” I mean wrote and printed) some of the effects he parodied in it.

To see how much this later creation added to the poem, let us for a moment revert to the first of the six examples discussed above. What is the significance of Sarpedon? What did he mean to Pope and the Augustans? After all, he was the central figure in one of Pope's three earliest-published efforts—an effort which led, as far as Sir William Trumbull's encouragement had any effect (Sir William had seen the *Episode* in manuscript), to the translation of the entire *Iliad*, and to the fame and success that Pope derived from that translation.

Sarpedon, if not the noblest Trojan of them all (a title Hector perhaps better merits), was still sufficiently noble: the son, according to Homer, of Laodamia and Zeus himself; the king of Lycia,

. . . predestin'd to be slain,  
Far from the Lycian shores. . . .

a great fighter; the speaker of a lofty patriotic oration; and indeed a tragic hero of the *Iliad*. He fell at last by the lance of Patroclus, and his passing was bewept by the father of the gods, who sent Apollo to convey his body from the bloody field of battle. The reason this divine intervention was necessary was that, as the lines previously quoted suggest, in the general conflict ensuing on Sarpedon's death, his corpse had been mutilated and rendered unrecognizable in the blood and dust:

His long-disputed Corpse the Chiefs inclose,  
On ev'ry side the busy Combate grows. . . .

So much for Sarpedon; now what of his opposite in *The Rape of the Lock*—mighty Pam, the jack of clubs?

The passage in which this champion of the fights of Loo figures is an ostensibly playful one: Pam's conqueror, the spade facecard, has been introduced as “The hoary Majesty of Spades” who “Puts forth

one manly leg to sight reveal'd," the other being hidden under his gaudy robe. The Augustan equivalent of contract bridge is certainly being given an elaborately pretentious treatment; but in the first couplet devoted to Pam little more appears on the surface than urbane tomfoolery:

Ev'n mighty *Pam*, that Kings and Queens o'erthrew,  
And mow'd down Armies in the Fights of Lu. . . .

Then comes the second couplet, ending the first round of Belinda's battle, and suddenly a different note is struck:

Sad Chance of War! now, destitute of Aid,  
Falls undistinguish'd by the Victor *Spade*!

For an instant the velvet plain of the card-table top becomes the sandy shore before Troy. The pasteboard knave is transformed into the heavenly form defaced with dust and gore. The shields and helmets rattle in our ears; the arms ring, the warriors fall. The permanence and the consequences of human conflict—tragic or comic, heroic or trivial—have been memorably asserted; and the trivial nature of Belinda's triumph over the Baron at the card table has, by one brief echo, been juxtaposed with the gigantic warring figures of the Homeric past.

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MISS LANDON, "THE MILK-AND-WATERY MOON  
OF OUR DARKNESS," 1824-30

By LIONEL STEVENSON

"The disappearance of Shelley from the world," wrote Thomas Lovell Beddoes in 1824, "seems, like the tropical setting of that luminary . . . to which his poetical genius can alone be compared with reference to the companions of his day, to have been followed by instant darkness and owl season; whether the vociferous Darley is to be the comet, or tender, full-faced L.E.L. the milk-and-watery moon of our darkness, are questions for the astrologers."<sup>1</sup>

The modern reader, on the basis of his unfamiliarity with both of the nominees, is likely to feel that Beddoes—if he was not indulging in unmitigated sarcasm—must have been a particularly inept soothsayer. George Darley is represented in the anthologies by two or three melodious lyrics, and mentioned in the handbooks along with Beddoes himself in discussions of the abortive pseudo-Elizabethan dramatic efforts of the twenties; and his other candidate, Miss Letitia Elizabeth Landon, is usually ignored by anthologies and handbooks alike.

If, however, one attempts to propose substitute names, one realizes the amazing hiatus in English poetry during the third decade of the nineteenth century. Keats died in 1821, Shelley in 1822, Byron in the spring of 1824. Wordsworth and Coleridge had ceased to contribute significant work; Southey, after the *Vision of Judgment* disaster of 1821, had devoted himself to history as a refuge from the perilous duties of the laureateship; and Walter Savage Landor had betaken himself to Italy and the crystalline prose of the *Imaginary Conversations*. Even such prolific versifiers as the two Thomases, Campbell and Moore, were but piping echoes of their former selves. The new generation was still in school or college; Tennyson's immature *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical* did not appear until 1830; Browning's *Pauline* came in 1833, and Elizabeth Barrett's *Prometheus Bound and Other Poems* in the same year. To fill the interval between the death of Byron and the emergence of Tennyson, we are reduced to suggesting such names as Barry Cornwall and James Montgomery. Recourse to contemporary records proves that the outstandingly successful and popular poet was incontrovertibly the "tender, full-faced L.E.L." Her poetical career coincides precisely with the six-year hiatus; the sales of her books reflect her immense appeal to the public; and the remarks of her contemporaries indicate how much they were impressed.

<sup>1</sup> *The Complete Works of Thomas Lovell Beddoes*, ed. Sir Edmund Gosse (London, [1928]), I, 17.

Letitia Landon had been a fat, snub-nosed little girl with an inexhaustible capacity for make-believe, who had acquired her literary skill through making up stories to tell to her younger brother who was her only playmate. At the age of seventeen, she submitted some of her verses to William Jerdan, a good-natured Scottish journalist who had recently established a successful weekly journal of book reviews, *The Literary Gazette*. Her family had some trouble in convincing him that they were actually the work of the childish-looking girl; Jerdan states in his autobiography that the poems, although "crude and inaccurate in style," contained "ideas so original and extraordinary" that he could only attribute them to a mature mind.<sup>2</sup> Under his tutelage she rapidly improved in technique, and he published two of her poems in his paper on March 11 and March 18, 1820, with the signature "L."

Thus encouraged, she wrote a long poem, *The Fate of Adelaide*, which was published at her grandmother's expense in August, 1821, the month of her nineteenth birthday. It was an amateurish romance, notable chiefly for being dedicated to Mrs. Siddons, a family friend, who had promised to use her influence to promote its sale. She significantly neglected to do so, and the little volume was a failure.

Letitia refused to be deterred. Her formerly prosperous father had recently failed in business; her brother was being put through college by an uncle, and Letitia was determined to become self-supporting. In *The Literary Gazette* she started to publish a series of "poetical sketches," which appeared almost every week over her initials, "L.E.L." Within a few months the interest of the reading public rose to a high pitch. For a time her identity was not divulged, but in reply to insistent inquiries the editor admitted that she was a "young lady yet in her teens," and many sentimental young men promptly fell in love with the image of her that they had constructed out of her writings. Edward Bulwer Lytton later described the "enthusiasm" which was aroused in him as an undergraduate at Cambridge and which "we shared with every second person we then met":

There was always, in the Reading Room of the Union, a rush every Saturday afternoon for the *Literary Gazette*; and an impatient anxiety to hasten at once to that corner of the sheet which contained the three magical letters 'L.E.L.' And all of us praised the verse, and all of us guessed at the author. We soon learned it was a female, and our admiration was doubled, and our conjectures tripled. Was she young? was she pretty? and—for there were some embryo fortune-hunters among us—was she rich? We ourselves only thought of homage, and in verse only we condescended to yield it. . . . But the other day, in looking over some of our boyish effusions we found a paper superscribed to L.E.L., and beginning with 'Fair Spirit!'<sup>3</sup>

One of the youths who seized the *Gazette* at the Union was Winthrop Mackworth Praed, and he too was inspired to apostrophize the

<sup>2</sup> *Autobiography of William Jerdan* (London, 1852-53), III, 175.

<sup>3</sup> "Romance and Reality," *New Monthly Magazine*, XXXII (December, 1831), 546-47.

unknown young lady, in lines which—though touched with his habitual irony—were nonetheless a clear tribute to her popularity:

I have a tale of Love to tell;—  
Lend me thy light lute, L.E.L. . . .  
Thou singest songs of floods and fountains,  
Of mounted lords and lordly mountains,  
Of dazzling shields and dazzling glances,  
Of piercing frowns and piercing lances,  
Of leaping brands and sweeping willows,  
Of dreading seas and dreaming billows,  
Of sunbeams which are like red wine,  
Of odorous lamps of argentine,  
Of cheeks that burn, of hearts that freeze,  
Of odours that send messages,  
Of kingfishers and silver pheasants,  
Of gems to which the sun makes presents,  
Of miniver and time-worn walls,  
Of clairschachs and of atabals.  
Within thy passion-haunted pages  
Throng forward girls, and distant ages,  
The lifeless learns at once to live,  
The dumb grows strangely talkative,  
Resemblances begin to strike  
In things exceedingly unlike,  
All nouns, like statesmen, suit all places,  
And verbs, turned lawyers, hunt for cases. . . .  
Vain, vain!—take back the lute! I see  
Its chords were never meant for me.  
For thine own song, for thine own hand  
That lute was strung in Fairy-land;  
And, if a stranger's thumb should fling  
Its rude touch o'er one golden string,—  
Good-night to all the music in it!  
The string would crack in half a minute.<sup>4</sup>

It was not only visionary undergraduates of her own age, however, who felt the fascination of her songs; the staid Quaker bank-clerk, Bernard Barton, who was nearing forty, published as early as February, 1822, a poem in her honor which ended:

I know not who, or what, thou art,  
Nor do I seek to know thee,  
Whilst thou, performing thus thy part,  
Such banquets can bestow me.  
Then be, as long as thou shalt list,  
My viewless, nameless melodist.<sup>5</sup>

Yet another poetic tribute was from a man of a very different stamp, Francis Mahony, "Father Prout," the witty and polyglot ex-priest; in one of his adaptations from Béranger, entitled "The Angel

<sup>4</sup> "A Preface," *Poems of Winthrop Mackworth Praed* (New York, 1885), I, 334-37.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in Laman Blanchard, *Life and Literary Remains of L.E.L.* (London, 1841), I, 31.

of Poetry," he narrated how, at the time of the Fall, God permitted one angel to sojourn among mankind and bring happiness by sponsoring poetry. The poem concluded:

Vainly, with hate inveterate, hell labour'd in its rage  
To persecute that angel's lute, and cross his pilgrimage;  
Unmov'd and calm, his songs pour'd balm on sorrow all the while;  
Vice he unmask'd, but virtue bask'd in the radiance of his smile.

Oh! where among the fair and young, or in what kingly court,  
In what gay path, where Pleasure hath her favorite resort,  
Where hast thou gone, angelic one? back to thy native skies?  
Or dost thou dwell in cloister'd cell, in pensive hermit's guise?  
Methinks I ken a denizen of this our island—nay,  
Leave me to guess, fair poetess! queen of the matchless lay!  
The thrilling line, lady! is thine; the spirit pure and free;  
And England views that angel muse, Landon! reveal'd in THEE!<sup>6</sup>

The reasons for this amazing success are not hard to find. The qualities of her work are well summarized in Praed's burlesque, quoted above. She began to write just at the moment when Romanticism had become popular to the extent of becoming vulgarized, and she provided a lush and effusive romanticism exactly suited to the taste of the young and the plebeian. She had picked up all the obvious traits from the work of Byron and Keats and Leigh Hunt—ornate descriptions of highly colored Italianate scenes, tragic episodes in vaguely medieval or renaissance palaces, a morbid enjoyment of melancholy and self-pity. She might be described, in short, as a female Byron, with the same fluently extemporizing style and the same insistence upon a sensitive soul blasted by the rude touch of the common world, but with Byron's violence and "Satanism" toned down to a sweet lady-like pathos.

In appearance, therefore, her work closely resembled the great poetry of the era, but beneath its surface was a disconcerting absence of two qualities that are essential for making poetry great—technical skill and personal perception. Like most woman versifiers, she had a receptive ear for the melodies of words and stanzas, and could reproduce them lavishly. The ease with which her lyrics flowed from her pen, and the chorus of praise which acclaimed her from the beginning, conspired to obviate hard work and self-discipline. The only advice that she received was from Jerdan, whose taste was so commonplace that his emendations were probably detrimental, being in the direction of triteness. As a result, her poems are peculiarly soporific: the reader's mind soon gives up the effort to grasp a single clear-cut, original image or genuine emotion, and drifts with the stream of hackneyed phrases and inevitable rhymes.

When she began to write, she was absolutely without emotional experiences, either joyous or sad; and although anxieties soon after-

<sup>6</sup> *The Reliques of Father Prout*, new edition (London, 1860), p. 315.

wards beset her, they were of the threadbare, inelegant sort that had to be disguised out of all recognition before they could figure in her gorgeous poetic wonderland. Her father's affairs went from bad to worse, and in 1825 he died. Letitia, who had been devoted to him, seems to have felt a deep incompatibility with her mother, and thereafter lived apart from the family, a situation which gave rise to gossip. Being as practical and gregarious in real life as she was moony and solitary in her poetical self-portraits, she realized that the only way to make a living in her profession was to profit by the assistance of editors; and accordingly her cheerful friendships with Jerdan, William Maginn, and other men in the profession intensified the scandal which was whispered about. Since all her narrative poems dealt with passionate love affairs and tragic betrayals, the public inevitably tended to associate these fictions with the actual career of the poetess.

As Jerdan could afford to pay her little, if anything, for her poems, it was necessary to capitalize their fame by reissuing them in more profitable form. In the summer of 1824 they were published in a volume of more than three hundred pages; its title, *The Improvisatrice*, was that of one of the melancholy tales which it contained, but in choosing the word she was not unaware of its appropriateness to herself.

The volume went through six editions in a year, and thoroughly established its author's fame. Within a month of its publication, it was causing so much uproar that it won the distinction of a half-ironic, half-sentimental discussion in the most influential of contemporary forums, the *Noctes Ambrosianae* of *Blackwood's Magazine*:

*Odoherly*: Literary Gazettes!—What a rumpus all that fry have been keeping up about Miss Landon's poetry—the *Improvisatrice*, I mean.

*North*: Why, I always thought you had been one of her greatest admirers, *Odoherly*. Was it not you that told me she was so very handsome?—a perfect beauty, I think you said.

*Odoherly*: And I said truly. She is one of the sweetest little girls in the world, and her book is one of the sweetest little books in the world; but Jerdan's extravagant trumpeting has quite sickened everybody; and our friend Alaric [Watts] has been doing rather too much in the same fashion. This sort of stuff plays the devil with any book. Sappho and Corinna, forsooth! Proper humbug!

*North*: I confess you are speaking pretty nearly my own sentiments. I ran over the book, and I really could see nothing of the originality, vigor, and so forth, they all chatter about. Very elegant, flowing verses they are—but all made up of Moore and Byron.

*Odoherly*: Nay, nay, when you look over the *Improvisatrice* again, I am sure you will retract this. You know very well that I am no great believer in female genius; but nevertheless, there is a certain feminine elegance about the voluptuousness of this book, which, to a certain extent, marks it with an individual character of its own.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> John Wilson *et al.*, *Noctes Ambrosianae*, ed. R. Shelton Mackenzie (New York, 1863), I, 466.

Her next volume was hastily composed to profit by the success of *The Improvisatrice*. It took its title from a long poem of Provençal chivalry, *The Troubadour*, and was published in July, 1825. An example both of her poetic style and of the innocently egotistic note that pervaded her work may be quoted from an autobiographic digression that closes *The Troubadour*. She describes the sunny June morning when the poem was conceived in "rainbow dreams":

And I was happy; hope and fame  
Together on my vision came,  
For memory had just dipp'd her wings  
In honey dews, and sunlit springs,—  
My brow burnt with its early wreath,  
My soul had drank its first sweet breath  
Of praise, and yet my cheek was flushing,  
My heart with the full torrent gushing  
Of feelings whose delightful mood  
Was mingled joy and gratitude.  
Scarce possible it seem'd to be  
That such praise could be meant for me.—  
Enured to coldness and neglect,  
My spirit chill'd, my breathing check'd,  
All that can cow and crush the mind,  
Friends, even more than fate unkind,  
And fortunes stamp'd with the pale sign  
That marks and makes autumn's decline. . . .

She goes on to express her gratitude to the critics "who made my way a path of light":

Thanks for the gentleness that lent  
My young lute such encouragement,  
When scorn had turn'd my heart to stone,  
O, theirs be thanks and benison!

This is followed by an equally extraverted account of her grief over the recent death of her father.

By this time, she was a conspicuous figure in London literary circles, and among her friends was the young man who had already admired her earliest work, Edward Bulwer Lytton. We find him writing to a friend with regard to her poems, "They contain more power, pathos, and music than any I have lately seen. She is only eighteen, and as charming and unaffected as she is clever."<sup>8</sup> The fact that this estimate of her age was six years short of the truth is evidence of the romanticized role that she assumed. Later he informs the same correspondent: "She is not pretty, but pleasing, and with deep blue eyes,—short and ill-made—has no fortune but what she makes by writing, which is about £1000 a year."<sup>9</sup> And in a letter to his fiancée he remarks, "Are you not pleased—delighted, I should say,

<sup>8</sup> Robert Bulwer Lytton, *Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton* (London, 1883), II, 128.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 134.

with the little quick song in the *Literary Gazette* by our charming Landon? I am glad to forget myself in the perusal of such compositions. It is, to my taste, one of her sweetest gems."<sup>10</sup>

Deeply interested in the stormy love affair of young Bulwer and Rosina Wheeler, Miss Landon used it as the basis of one of the episodes in her next long poem, *The Golden Violet*. This romance, a continuation of *The Troubadour*, was published in December, 1826. In the same volume appeared what is perhaps her best poem, a long dramatic monologue entitled *Erinna*. In portraying the character of the ancient Greek poetess, she waxed especially autobiographic. The poem is in blank verse, instead of her customary tetrameter couplets, and as a picture of a young woman poet's mental development it is undeniably convincing. Its tragedy of frustration arises solely from temperamental sources and not from external misfortune. "I have not attempted to write a classical fiction," she explained in her preface; "feelings are what I wish to narrate, not incidents; my aim has been to draw the portrait and trace the changes of a highly poetical mind, too sensitive perhaps of the chill and bitterness belonging even to success." The poem has distinct affinities with the psychological monologues written subsequently by Tennyson and Browning.

Her reference to "the chill and bitterness belonging even to success" was clearly personal. Her books were selling in their thousands, but unfavorable criticism was increasing. On the one hand, censorious persons branded her poems "immoral" for their insistence on passionate love; on the other, discriminating readers began to find her themes and settings monotonous. Even Bulwer admitted: "I can foresee a very great diminution of her fame from this work. She should not write tales at all; small poems, songs, ballads, lyrics, stanzas would suit her best."<sup>11</sup> And Charles Lamb spluttered to Peter Patmore, "If she belonged to me, I would lock her up and feed her on bread and water till she left off writing poetry. A female poet or female author of any kind ranks below an actress, I think."<sup>12</sup>

Her fifth book of verse, *The Venetian Bracelet, The Lost Pleiad, The History of the Lyre, and Other Poems*, appeared in October, 1829. Its title suffices to indicate that there was no change in her material. But by this time she was invading other literary fields. For a long while she had been writing many of the reviews in *The Literary Gazette*, and she had also undertaken the profitable but wearisome task of editing the plushy annuals that were the latest vogue. After 1830, she devoted the remaining eight years of her life chiefly to writing novels.

Surveying the ten years of her poetic career, Bulwer wrote in

<sup>10</sup> *Letters of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton, to his Wife*, ed. Louisa Devey (New York, 1889), p. 27.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>12</sup> P. G. Patmore, *My Friends and Acquaintances* (London, 1854), I, 85.



1831, with reference to her "poetical sketches" in *The Literary Gazette*:

These early proofs of the genius of our Poetess are, indeed, singularly beautiful: they have gone far towards producing a new school—a school, in truth, which we do not admire, and in which the proselytes have done their possible to copy the faults, without the merits of the founder.<sup>13</sup>

In the next year, her loyal admirer, *Blackwood's Magazine*, could still grant her the preëminence in poetry that Beddoes dubiously suggested in 1824. The discussion was upon the new poets who might give promise of replacing the great Romantic group. Tennyson received qualified praise ("Though his wings are far from being full-fledged, they promise now well in the pinions. . . . He has a fine ear for melody and harmony too—and rare and rich glimpses of imagination. He has . . . affectations. Too many"). And then, by contrast, Miss Landon was eulogized:

. . . She is a true enthusiast. Her affections overflow the imagery her fancy lavishes on all the subjects of her song, and colour it all with a rich and tender light which makes even confusion beautiful, gives a glowing charm even to indistinct conception, and when the thoughts themselves are full formed and substantial, as they often are, brings them prominently out upon the eye of the soul in flashes that startle us into sudden admiration. The originality of her genius, methinks, is conspicuous in the choice of its subjects—they are unborrowed. . . . I love Miss Landon, for, in her, genius does the work of duty—the union of the two is 'beautiful exceedingly'—and virtue is its own reward; far beyond the highest meed of praise ever bestowed by critic—though round her fair forehead is already wreathed the immortal laurel.<sup>14</sup>

This unstinted praise from a prominent critic was echoed in 1838 by the woman who had by that time replaced her in public esteem. The news of Miss Landon's tragic death evoked many poetical tributes, and one of the warmest was written by Elizabeth Barrett:

Love learnèd she had sung of love and love,—  
And like a child that, sleeping with dropt head  
Upon the fairy-book he lately read,  
Whatever household noises round him move,  
Hears in his dream some elfin turbulence,—  
Even so suggestive to her inward sense,  
All sounds of life assumed one tune of love. . . .

Hers was the hand that played for many a year  
Love's silver phrase for England, smooth and well. . . .<sup>15</sup>

The significance of Miss Landon's poetry, then, resides in its being the perfect epitome of the transition from Romanticism to Victorianism. Imaginative escape to overcolored scenes of far away and long

<sup>13</sup> "Romance and Reality," *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> John Wilson *et al.*, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

<sup>15</sup> "L.E.L.'s Last Question," *Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (London, 1897), p. 271.

ago, mingled with egocentric emotional analysis, and written in an extemporizing style that ignored technical precision—these are the traits of the Romantics, popularized into a formula. On the other hand, her invincible sentimentality and her taste for earnest moralizing clearly foreshadow some of the most famous (if least profound) poems of Elizabeth Barrett and Alfred Tennyson.

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## CARLYLE, FITZGERALD, AND THE NASEBY PROJECT

By THOMAS A. KIRBY

The deep interest which Carlyle and FitzGerald manifested in the battle of Naseby is not at all surprising. Since a good part of FitzGerald's early life was passed at Naseby Woolleys, one of the several estates owned by his wealthy father, it is only natural to find that young FitzGerald had a very thoroughgoing knowledge of the actual site of the battle and of the events which took place on June 14, 1645. And of course Carlyle's hero-worship of Cromwell is sufficient to account for his interest in what was one of the most important incidents of the Protector's career, though it may be noted that an account of the battle itself does not form a part of the *Cromwell* but is relegated to an appendix.<sup>1</sup>

Carlyle first saw Naseby in the spring of 1842 on the occasion of a brief visit to Dr. Thomas Arnold at Rugby:

Next day they drove me over some fifteen miles off to see the field of Naseby fight—Oliver Cromwell's chief battle, or one of his chief. It was a grand scene for me—Naseby. . . . It is built as on the brow of the Hagheads at Ecclefechan; Cromwell lay with his back to that, and King Charles was drawn up as at Wull Welsh's—only the Sinclair burn must be mostly dried, and the hollow much wider and deeper. They flew at one another, and Cromwell ultimately 'brashed him all to rooms.' I plucked two gowans and a cowslip from the burial heaps of the slain, which still stand as heaps, but sunk away in the middle.<sup>2</sup>

However, it was not long before Carlyle discovered that he had not visited the real site of the battle. He and FitzGerald first became acquainted on September 15, 1842, when Carlyle was hard at work on his study of Cromwell. It was inevitable that the two should discuss the scene of the battle, and in this way FitzGerald learned of Carlyle's visit to the supposed field of conflict; the former pointed out that the latter was mistaken in his belief that the highest part of the field was the actual center of the struggle and proved the correctness of his opinion a few weeks later by actually excavating and thereby revealing the skeletons of the dead soldiers.<sup>3</sup>

It was at this time that the project of a suitable battle memorial took shape, a project which Carlyle and FitzGerald talked about and attempted to execute at various times during the next thirty years. Its relatively detailed history may be followed in FitzGerald's published letters.<sup>4</sup> Interesting additional commentary is to be found in the fol-

<sup>1</sup> *Works of Thomas Carlyle* (New York, 1897), IX, 87 f., Appendix 8.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Froude, *Thomas Carlyle: A History of His Life in London, 1834-1881* (New York, 1884), I, 217 (Letter to Mrs. Aitken, May 10, 1842).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Wright, *Life of Edward FitzGerald* (New York, 1904), I, 176 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., W. A. Wright, *Letters of Edward FitzGerald* (London, 1901), I, 5, 91-92, 125-32, 135-38, 144, 190, 205-06, 300-02, 303-04; II, 128-30, 132-33, 135-36, 156, 160-61, 165-68; *More Letters of Edward FitzGerald* (London, 1902),

lowing apparently hitherto unpublished letter, written in 1873 by FitzGerald to a not exactly identifiable correspondent:<sup>8</sup>

Market hill: Woodbridge. June 19. [1873]

Dear Sir—

I was very much obliged to you for your Letter, and have only delayed acknowledging it thus long till I could hear from Mr. Carlyle what his wishes were about this Naseby Memorial. He is now an old Man; and on that account, as well as on account of his Historical Services, I wish to meet his Wishes as far as my own 64 Years Enable me.

He thinks that a Solid Block of *Portland Stone*, some 4 or 4½ feet high, would do: with only *one* side of it polished so as to receive an Inscription. This Inscription (which he sketched some 15 years ago—when the Estate passed from my Family) I will write on a separate paper.

And as you are kind Enough to say that you will help us in the matter, I shall ask you to ascertain of some Stone mason in the Neighbourhood how far Carlyle's scheme for such a Monument is practicable, and for what sum he will Engage to do it for. I think I remember a Stone-cutter at *Welford*; and if it were too much to ask you to treat with him, I would do so by Letter if you could oblige me with his Name—an odd Request, perhaps; but I presume that your Business with Naseby makes you acquainted with its' nearest Post-town.

I think that a plain iron rail ought to go about the Stone, to protect it from Cattle, plough etc. But would all this be in the Tenant's way?

It is now just 30 years since I opened the Graves—on the brow of the *Hill on the Naseby side of Broadmoor*. The Graves were then not very distinguishable; and are very possibly obliterated by the plough since that time. If the Stone be made, I must probably have to go to Naseby myself to point out the exact spot: which I think I could do very Easily.

But, in the meanwhile, I have to make sure of your Authority for placing such a Stone as I have described: and, secondly, to know what help you are inclined, or enabled, to give me towards the erection of it. I have no right to put you to trouble which I do not undertake myself: but you have offered me some assistance, and I must suppose that if a Stone is to be shaped, inscribed, and erected, all this had better be done as near to the Spot as possible.

I remain

Yours faithfully

Edward FitzGerald

*Inscription for Monument.*

SISTE VIATOR

Here, and for some Yards hereabout, lies the Dust of Men slain in the Battle of Naseby, 14 June—1645. Hereabouts appears to have been the Crisis of the struggle, hereabouts the final Charge of Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides that Day.

\* This ground was not irreverently or without reluctance opened 23 Sept

pp. 37-39, 125, 132-33, 152, 161, 175, 179, 266; *Letters to Fanny Kemble, 1871-1883* (London, 1895), pp. 42-43. The biographers of both Carlyle and FitzGerald deal with the matter only briefly; see, for example, T. Wright, *op. cit.*, I, 176 ff., II, 120 f., and D. A. Wilson, *Life of Carlyle*, III (London, 1925), 184 ff. ("Carlyle on Cromwell and Others").

<sup>8</sup> Probably the unnamed person whom Carlyle mentions as follows: "This welcome 'Agent,' so willing and beneficent, will contrive, I hope, to spare you a good deal of the trouble . . ."; cf. Carlyle's letter to FitzGerald, June 15, 1872, in W. A. Wright, *Letters*, II, 135-36. This is undoubtedly the same person FitzGerald refers to: ". . . I applied to the Agent of the Estate who was willing to help us in getting permission to erect the Stone, and to a neighbouring Mason to fashion it as Carlyle desired" (*ibid.*, I, 127).

1842 to ascertain the fact and render the contemporary Records legible. Peace henceforth to these Old Dead.

T. Carlyle scripsit: E. FitzGerald posuit:  
(Date etc)

NB\*. This latter paragraph to be distinguished from the former, whether by shape of Letters, or width of Margin. But *both* Paragraphs are to be cut as in written order, *not* in the Lapidary Tombstone style.<sup>6</sup>

This letter reflects the mutual desire of FitzGerald and Carlyle to comply with each other's wishes in their common project. For example, the latter wrote about a year before this time (June 15, 1872):

In short I wish *you* my dear friend to take charge of this pious act in all its details; considering me to be loyally passive to whatever you decide on respecting it. If on those terms you will let me bear half the expense and flatter myself that in this easy way I have gone halves with you in this small altogether genuine piece of patriotism, I shall be extremely obliged to you.<sup>7</sup>

Although there are a few scattered references to the Naseby memorial in the later letters, the whole idea had to be abandoned in the fall of 1873:

The Naseby Trustees won't let us put up the Stone there: neither it nor the Inscription thereof are *florid* enough, Edmund Barlow tells me: Carlyle's conditions being that both should be as plain as possible. The Asses!<sup>8</sup>

Altogether, this new letter by FitzGerald may be said to possess much interest and some significance in helping us to round out a relatively neglected chapter in the lives of FitzGerald and Carlyle and also by serving as a strong reminder of one of Carlyle's longer-lived and happier friendships.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Both letter and inscription are written in FitzGerald's holograph and cover eight octavo pages (the former, six; the latter, two). The inscription is substantially the same as that reprinted by W. A. Wright, *Letters*, I, 301-02, who, however, does not give the last paragraph ("NB" etc.). On the basis of FitzGerald's reference to his age I have dated the letter 1873; the statement in the fifth paragraph ("It is now just 30 years . . .") is not completely accurate, for it was in the autumn of 1842 (i.e., nearly thirty-one years before) that the excavations were made.

<sup>7</sup> W. A. Wright, *ibid.*, II, 136.

<sup>8</sup> FitzGerald to Herman Biddell, October 30, 1873 (*More Letters*, p. 152).

<sup>9</sup> One wonders if the friendship between Carlyle and FitzGerald would have proved as enduring as it did if the sage of Chelsea had been aware of his friend's fears concerning the Cromwell volumes: "I am afraid Carlyle will make a mad mess of Cromwell and his Times"; and again, "After all he will make a mad book"—*Letters*, I, 134, 135; but cf. also I, 154: ". . . Carlyle is like to make good use of what we can find him, and make a good English Hero of Oliver—something of a Johnsonian figure. . . ." After reading the work, however, FitzGerald wrote: "I have also been reading Carlyle's Cromwell: which I think will last also, and so carry along with it many of his more perishable tirades" (II, 230).

## REVIEWS

*Poems.* By FRANZ WERFEL. Translated by EDITH ABERCROMBIE SNOW. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945. Pp. xii + 119. \$2.00.

At long last we have in English translation a collection of poems by Franz Werfel. Though it consists of but 49 poems, the American reader owes the translator a great debt of gratitude, for here, for the first time—disregarding for the moment the several translations of individual poems by Zeydel, Schlauch, and others (cf. John R. Frey, "America and Franz Werfel," *German Quarterly*, XIX [1946], 121 ff.)—she has brought together in book form samples from all periods of Werfel's life.

It is debatable just how representative of the poet the choice is. It is also debatable whether in all cases the choice was wise. Poems, unless assembled on some academic or extraneous principle, will always remain a matter of personal preference, and Mrs. Snow, as the pioneer in translating Werfel's lyrics, certainly has the right to follow her own judgment. Yet those readers who know and love Werfel's poems will sadly miss some of their most beloved favorites. For, more than any other contemporary author's verses, Werfel's poems are the crystal prisms through which all the high hopes, that world-embracing ardor, the fervent God-seeking, the unbearable joy and torment of life, the heartrending resignation, the prophetic vision, the Cassandra warning, and yet the Messianic mission of the metaphysical optimism of the poet are uniquely refracted. Their language and their music, their thoughts and their hopes express the aspirations and agonies of their age with a directness and newness and, at the same time, an imagery steeped in allegory and cryptic symbolism that well-nigh defies translation. For, as Werfel states in his introduction to this volume which he discussed at some length with this reviewer shortly before he died, "Every word has a different history in every language, a different world of associations and connotations. In everyday speech the content facilitates its own rendition. The poetic word, however, casts shadows; history and associations resonate in it and give it life. The translator must choose such words that his own verse language casts corresponding shadows, so that his own lines may be filled with the resonating connotations that make the lyric into a work of art."

Werfel's willful imbuing of words with overtones and hidden meanings of polyvalence does not make the translator's lot an easy one. It is therefore understandable that occasionally Mrs. Snow's lines fail to cast these "corresponding shadows." Thus *Erkenntnis-wonne* and *Wohllvollen* (p. 12) are painfully restricted in breadth in their rendition as *joy of understanding* and *kindliness*. More serious is the distortion of the meaning in the third stanza of "Supreme Kinship" and also the third stanza of "Strangers Are We All upon the Earth." And the last stanza of "Tempora Mea in Manibus Tuis"

reads almost like a parody. The translator's avowed intention of recreating the original "as nearly as possible in the same meter, rhythm, and rhyme" occasionally results in a rather pedestrian, prosaic rendition deprived of the vibrant music of the original, as for instance in "The Beyond," "The First Transport of Wounded," and "Prayer for Purity." On the other hand, we sense a surprisingly kindred spirit in quite a number of the poems, particularly the shorter ones, though by no means only there. "Meeting Glance" is a little gem. Very satisfactory are: "Jesus and the Carrion-Path," "To a Lark in War-Time," "The Wolfhound," "Exaltation," "The Pain," "The World-Friend Knows Not How to Age," to mention but a few. The "Ballad of Sickness" deserves special mention for excellence.

Of course, all poetry is almost untranslatable. Among the older contemporaries George and Rilke confound the most honest attempts at capturing their essence in translation. Yet it is this reviewer's considered conviction that Werfel offers more obstacles to a translator than either of the earlier poets. Hence, Mrs. Snow is to be congratulated on her devotion, courage, and perseverance. At times she achieves the impossible, and in most cases does a creditable job. With as difficult a poet as Werfel it is a very great advantage to have the German original next to the translation.

The book is exceptionally well edited. Only one misprint was noted in the German part (*Des Lebenshöhe*, p. 116). Mention should also be made of the beautiful typography and binding.

A note on Werfel's introduction might have been in order, calling attention to the fact that the book of poems *Botschaft vom Irdischen Leben* mentioned by him last was only planned. Werfel died before he could make final arrangements. However, some of the poems intended for this book are to be included in a new collection which is about to be released. Death called Werfel at the very moment when he was reading proof for this new book of poems.

ADOLF D. KLARMANN

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*The Concept "Sage" in Nibelungen Criticism: The History of the Conception "Sage" in the Nibelungen Criticism from Lachmann to Heusler.* By ELIZABETH EDROP BOHNING. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Co., 1944. Pp. 254.

This dissertation was written under the direction of Professor Max Diez and, as one might expect, is a thorough work. It is limited to the contents and literary form of the *Nibelungensage*; excluded are the manuscript question and the treatment of the legend by later poets.

The aim of the investigation is to describe how the Romantic misconceptions concerning the "Sage" ("in welchen Begriff Göttermythos, Heldendichtung, Volkssage verschwammen") "originated, grew and spread, how this vague concept of 'Sage' as the source and



wellspring of heroic poetry dominated the grand speculations of the entire nineteenth century concerning the origins of the Nibelungen legend and held critics under the spell for three generations." In the final chapter we find a complete survey of Heusler's ideas, in which the author shows "how the realistic and constructive work of Andreas Heusler finally interrupted this Romantic fiction by establishing, simply from a comparison of the documents which are preserved to us, the exact number and precise content of the sources which are necessary to explain their existence and divergencies"; and finally "his use of these divergencies to throw light on the historical and literary background of the sources and the individual aims and preconceptions of their authors."

The amount of material sifted is enormous, as one can see by the fact that the bibliography extends from page 195 to page 246. The problem of organization was solved by numbering each paragraph in the text; reference to the bibliography is made through the dates following the cited authors. This system of reference leads to some ambiguity when, as in paragraph 25, reference is made twice to the same man by the same date; it is not evident to which of these works one is referred until he has read the entire paragraph. Or again, one wonders in paragraph 421 why Müller should first suggest that Attila's death, interpreted as Kriemhild's revenge, underlies the Nibelungen story and then five lines down he should object to this suggestion. The use of initials with the two Müllers would have avoided the confusion.

On the whole, however, the material is well presented and is a worthy piece of work. It is unfortunate that the dissertation was apparently rushed through the printing with the result that many corrections in dates and figures and other additions were made in ink. Other errata noted are as follows: p. 17 (II, 176-77), *cassura* for *caesura*; p. 40 (126), *Ergänzungsblätter zur Erkenntnis der Gegenwart*, but on p. 211 (Bibliog.) . . . *zur Kenntnis* . . . ; p. 16 (27), one is not sure whence the quote from Lachmann until one chances upon it on page 202 in the reference given in paragraph 28; p. 40, the numbers of periodicals (as no. 2) are given after the dates, whereas in the rest of the text they are given in the bibliography; p. 76 (323), the page numbers given after the dates are not clear; p. 116 (527), some figures given are meaningless: cf. 92 of line three, 1043 of line four, 1141 of line five; p. 196, after the date 1795: *Über der NL*. In the bibliography we also find the use of *pt.* (for part) within the German titles, as well as 2nd Ed. It is also questionable whether one should abbreviate *Vierteljahresschrift* by *1/4 Jahresschr.* (1927, Neumann).

HERMAN C. MEYER

*University of Washington*

*La Pensée Européenne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: De Montesquieu à Lessing.*

Par PAUL HAZARD. Paris: Boivin, 1946. 2 tomes. v et 375 pp.; 263 pp.; index et table pp. 264-301. 525 francs.

Ce grand livre expose avec concision les résultats d'une vaste enquête. Il s'ouvre, dit la préface, en 1715 parce que s'il est vrai qu'à cette époque la "crise de la conscience européenne" existait déjà, c'est à partir de cette année-là que s'est produit un phénomène de diffusion sans égal. L'auteur en voit comme signe la fondation du Scriblerus Club qui se donnait pour mission de: "venger le bon sens par la raillerie" à Londres par John Arbuthnot en 1713. Il étudie ensuite le développement de la pensée du dix-huitième siècle selon un rythme ternaire: première partie, le Procès du Christianisme; seconde partie, la Cité des Hommes; troisième partie, Désagrégation. Cette dernière section, à la différence des autres, comprend trois livres qui traitent respectivement des idées variées et souvent opposées de la nature, de la prédominance du sentiment, enfin des déismes, trois aspects du mal qui s'est attaqué à la rationnelle "Cité des Hommes." Elle comprend aussi la conclusion. Il est à regretter que celle-ci, parce qu'elle est en dehors du temps, ne forme pas une quatrième partie. En effet, de même qu'au vingtième siècle il est parfois question de la France et de l'Allemagne éternelles, le professeur Hazard, quoiqu'il n'ait pas employé l'expression et que celle-ci n'existe pas encore, parle dans sa conclusion de l'Europe éternelle. La belle ordonnance du présent travail opère de véritables trouées lumineuses dans une matière complexe et ne se dément légèrement que dans la seconde partie dont la venue nous semble un peu moins heureuse.

Le professeur Hazard a choisi, pour limiter un champ très vaste, de restreindre son enquête à une seule famille d'esprits: "aux Rationaux... âmes sèches... combatives" (I, iv), aussi les prédecesseurs du romantisme et des courants contemporains ne sont-ils nommés qu'à titre de contre-partie. Sans doute une étude des infra-rationaux comprenant de Sade, "l'homme le plus libre qui ait été" selon Apollinaire, appellerait-elle un travail d'une envergure presque égale à celle du présent ouvrage.

La première partie du livre montre avec une grande netteté que le dix-huitième siècle s'est attaqué principalement non pas tant à la religion proprement dite qu'à la Révélation, autrement dit au surnaturel. Elle marque la part que chaque nationalité a prise à l'assaut. Le déisme anglais savant avec Toland et Tindall combat vigoureusement jusqu'en 1740, puis passe en Allemagne où l'œuvre est continuée par les fils de pasteurs encore plus érudits, et sous leur érudition, plus audacieux que les autres; et ce sont Baumgarten de Halle et Michaelis. Les Français ne sont pas exégètes mais cueillent les arguments ici et là et leur font un sort auprès du grand public. Comme les Italiens ils font aussi œuvre anti-cléricale. La Chalotais reproche aux jésuites d'avoir juré obéissance absolue au Pape, même pour le temporel et ainsi d'être hostiles à l'essence même de l'état. Giannone dans son *Istoria civile*... de 1723, lui aussi, bâtit l'étatisme en faisant

un reproche semblable à tous les ecclésiastiques. L'auteur consacre un chapitre aux défenseurs du Christianisme. Le "bras séculier" exerce la répression, et chez les Catholiques et chez les Protestants, d'une manière sévère et pas trop habile. D'un autre côté, en France, les anti-philosophes emploient non sans succès raillerie et ironie. En 1757, l'*Histoire des Cacouacs* affuble les Encyclopédistes d'un surnom et une littérature plus volumineuse même que celle de l'attaque s'amoncele. Fréron défendait la tradition pour des raisons sociales; Abraham Chaumeix signalait les points faibles de l'*Encyclopédie*, c'est tout ce que dit l'étude présente à ce sujet. En Angleterre, Berkeley et Butler répondent sur le plan de la polémique particulier à ce pays.

La seconde partie montre la volonté de sécularisation à l'œuvre dans tous les domaines. Une morale laïque s'établit; elle inspire Grimm dans son *Essai d'un catéchisme pour les enfants* (1755), et offre au monde trois vertus à pratiquer: tolérance, bienfaisance et humanité. Beccaria en est imbu dans son *Dei Delitti* de 1764 où il veut que le coupable soit puni non selon son intention mais d'après l'importance sociale du délit. Alors la doctrine a un effet bienfaisant puisqu'avec le temps ce livre va amener la disparition de la torture du code de justice criminelle. Le plan de cette seconde partie aurait peut-être gagné à être un peu moins divisé, un peu moins formel et à ce que les idées sociales ne soient pas disséminées dans les trois chapitres: le gouvernement, les idées et les mœurs, l'*Encyclopédie*. Dans cette dernière section l'auteur fait ressortir (I, 291) qu'Adam Ferguson pourra plus tard être considéré comme le fondateur de la sociologie puisqu'il a le premier eu l'idée que l'histoire présentait toujours l'humanité sous forme de groupes et qu'elle indiquait par là la manière de procéder. Le chapitre du gouvernement a trait d'ailleurs aux idées sociales qu'à la forme même de l'état. Y sont relatés le conservatisme de l'époque, son souci de limiter la liberté et l'égalité après les avoir proclamées, sa croyance à la fixité des classes afin d'assurer la permanence de la société, son indifférence pour le sort des manœuvres. Enfin l'auteur y fait état des quelques protestataires, tels Morelly et Mably qui s'insurgent contre l'orthodoxie décrite ci-dessus, contre la propriété et l'inégalité.

Ces enfants terribles furent peu nombreux; de même les athées, qui avec le personnage de de Wolmar commencent à attirer la sympathie: ce sont di Passerano, de Maillet et d'Holbach. Ils sont un peu égarés dans le chapitre de la religion naturelle puisque c'est du point de vue de la religion naturelle justement que Voltaire protestait contre l'ouvrage de d'Holbach. Les hétérodoxes de la propriété et du déisme méritaient probablement un traitement à part.

Le premier chapitre du début de la troisième partie: "Désagrégation" nous semble ressortir particulièrement et le titre qu'il porte: "le Devenir" doit retenir l'attention. En effet il marque, du point de vue de la pensée pure, la métamorphose de la philosophie sensualiste et des courants concomitants grâce à Lessing. Le professeur Hazard déclare que Lessing a imprimé la marque caractéristique allemande du devenir aux courants conjugués du Lockisme anglais, du Berke-

leyisme, des sensualisme et cartésianisme français, du "Leibnizisme" allemand et du Spinozisme, chacun plus puissant dans son pays croyance au devenir en émettant l'opinion que la Révélation n'est pas d'origine (II, 40). Lessing a transformé la religion naturelle en croyance au devenir en émettant l'opinion que la Révélation n'est pas surnaturelle mais qu'elle est dans l'homme, qu'elle aide celui-ci à s'élever par paliers à mesure qu'il dégage ses richesses obscures. Le rôle de Lessing, décrit dans le chapitre qui lui est consacré (II, 214), aurait pu être indiqué là avantage, semble-t-il.

La "Désagrégation" ne succède pas rigoureusement dans le temps à l'empirisme sensualiste sur lequel repose "la Cité des Hommes." Au contraire, ce qu'il y a d'incohérent dans la doctrine devient manifeste dès le début. Berkeley le met en lumière dès 1713 dans ses *Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*: si l'on refuse d'objectiver la substance comment peut-on se tenir assuré de la réalité ontologique de la nature, de la sensation, prêter en somme des qualités à cette substance que l'on nie? En vain Condillac veut-il défendre le toucher et le mouvement du corps comme des sensations privilégiées atteignant des objets extérieurs à nous, il passe bientôt à l'idéalisme et Hume, réduisant tout à des états de conscience, triomphe en 1763.

L'esprit de l'auteur aide souvent son érudition et lui permet de résumer d'un mot ou d'un trait: l'échec de Vico, le succès de Wolff, le triomphe de Locke. De même, Voltaire croyait bien avoir "écrasé l'infâme" le soir en se couchant, décidant que "l'ennemi était vaincu sans retour," mais tous les matins il éprouvait "le besoin de recommencer le combat." Au contraire, le prudent Lessing osa à la fin se marier: "il a épousé, sur le tard, une compagne qu'il avait choisie comme la meilleure possible dans une espèce difficile à comprendre." En un endroit pourtant il semble bien que les choses se brouillent (II, 24). L'auteur rapporte ainsi cette supposition de l'époque qui passionna les sensualistes et leurs adversaires: si l'on enseigne à un aveugle-né à distinguer par l'attouchement un cube et un globe et que ce même aveugle vienne dans la suite à jouir de la vue, distinguera-t-il à distance les deux objets? Non, répondent Molineux, Locke et Berkeley: "un aveugle-né qui commencerait à voir, n'aurait point d'abord, par la vue, l'idée de la distance." Je parierais une somme modique, n'en étant pas absolument sûr, que l'aveugle les distinguerait car il s'agit de perception de contours à distance et non pas de distance proprement dite.

La conclusion du livre est intitulée: "l'Europe et la Fausse Europe." Le visage de cette fausse Europe, machiavélique (II, 260), est à écarter pour distinguer celui de la véritable. La véritable Europe se caractérise par la poursuite de deux quêtes: celle du bonheur et celle de la vérité. Pourtant le lecteur ne sera-t-il pas d'avis que cette recherche du bonheur l'Europe la manifeste en commun avec l'Amérique? Le professeur Hazard définit la seconde quête en se servant de l'Asie comme repoussoir et en évoquant le nirvâna, aspect non examiné dans le corps de l'ouvrage et donc il s'agit de l'Europe hors du temps, de l'Europe éternelle, considérée *sub specie aeternitatis*. A ce point un grave malentendu menace. Lorsque l'auteur parle

de "la soif inextinguible de vérité" de l'Europe (II, 261), déclare qu'avec les penseurs français du dix-huitième siècle nous avons affaire: "aux esprits les plus clairs qui aient jamais été" (I, iii), il semble que nous devions prendre les vocables "clairs" et "vérité" dans une acception particulière. Il est seulement question de clarté extrinsèque, vite perceptible à un grand nombre d'esprits, et non de celle que Thierry-Maulnier, citant Descartes, revendique pour le langage français, clarté d'une vérité aperçue par le lecteur après effort.

Déclarer que la recherche de la vérité soit le propre de l'Europe est au moins surprenant. Nirvâna si l'on veut, mais avant que l'Europe existât l'Asie scrutait déjà les mystères de l'être, et avec quel détachement! Un Asiatique justement, M. Ananda Coomaraswamy écrivait que: "la méthode historique propre à classer les faits n'aide pas à élucider les principes." Or l'Europe, ajouterons-nous, s'est attachée à l'histoire et cela surtout avec et depuis le dix-huitième siècle. Plutôt que des principes ou des idées-mères l'Europe fournit, croyons-nous, des formules ou mieux, pour employer un mot transporté du domaine des mathématiques à celui de l'art par Ozenfant et repris dans ce dernier sens par Valéry et Gide, des *constantes*, ce à quoi la France excelle particulièrement. Il est à noter d'ailleurs que l'auteur ne parle pas de la prééminence de la France en Europe au passé dans sa conclusion. Selon nous les constantes créées aux dix-huitième siècle étaient d'ordre politique: liberté, droits de l'homme, etc. Elles doivent être aujourd'hui d'une part distinguées de la vérité, des principes, de l'autre concrétisées au cœur de conditions qui ont changé depuis ce temps-là. L'Europe, la France, malgré leurs périls, leurs haines, leur pauvreté pourront-elles poursuivre leur tâche? Le professeur Hazard le donne à espérer lorsqu'il écrit (II, 262) de ce continent: "ses découragements sont sans lendemain."

JEAN DAVID

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*The Subject of Realism in the "Revue de Paris" (1829-1858).* By WILBUR H. ODA. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. x + 94.

A decade ago Du Val examined *The Subject of Realism in the "Revue des Deux Mondes,"* and Weinberg, *French Realism: The Critical Reaction.* Now Mr. Oda offers a study of the *Revue de Paris*, the dates of which, 1829-1845 and 1851-1858, closely cover the rise of realism in French literature. The *Revue*, which created the literary portrait by Sainte-Beuve and which published numerous short stories and novels by Balzac, as well as *Madame Bovary*, is indeed worthy of Mr. Oda's effort.

He has followed roughly the pattern of Du Val; four main chapters, each with its summary: Realism in Painting, in the Novel, in the Theater, and in Poetry, with a concluding chapter on the General Attitude of the *Revue de Paris*.

Realistic painters were slowest to gain approval; the novelists, especially Balzac, were accepted almost at first. In time a certain leniency toward the realistic playwrights appeared. In Maxime Du Camp's famous preface to the *Chants Modernes*, published in this review, in which he emphasized that poetry should have a humanitarian mission, and should treat of modern industrial subjects, Oda sees one of the *Revue's* chief contributions to the development of realism.

The author is to be commended for adding one more study to the growing list of works on realism, as well as for his straightforward presentation, which is handled with lucidity and skill.

ALPHONSE R. FAVREAU

University of Michigan

*The Life and Novels of Léon Gozlan: A Representative of Literary Cross Currents in the Generation of Balzac.* By MARTHA KATHERINE LODER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1943. Pp. viii + 101.

In this thesis, presented at the University of Pennsylvania, Miss Loder has attempted to summarize Léon Gozlan's life (sixty-three years) and works (upwards of seventy titles) in a little more than eighty pages. True, she states that her research in France was interrupted by the war before she had accumulated all her data. Even so, she has read nearly all Gozlan's works, and with the material at hand, could have lengthened her monograph substantially into a more readable, more flowing narrative. The work now stands as a compilation of a wealth of notes, put down in orderly but jerky manner, with little development and few transitions from one topic to the next. She has followed a customary method of dividing her work into two parts, the life and then the works of her author, thus causing considerable duplication, where, in so brief a book, the two sections could easily have formed a single unit.

Miss Loder has traced Gozlan's early life in Marseilles, and his later years in Paris as poet, journalist, playwright, and realist-novelist. In evaluating Gozlan, the author states "there is no permanent value to his fiction . . . he belongs therefore not to literature itself but to the literary life of the century." Mindful of this thesis, Miss Loder never exaggerates his position in French letters, but rather devotes due space to his literary connections.

His connections with the Romantic writers is quickly sketched. Briefly mentioned also is his friendship with Gautier, Karr, and Sandeau. However, the reader would have enjoyed a more penetrating research into the influence of these authors on the works of Gozlan. His associations with Balzac, first antagonistic, finally friendly, his numerous borrowings of and intimacy with that leader of the novel are handled more adequately and at greater length.



Had Miss Loder applied her understanding of her author to a close study of his style, she might have, through the internal evidence thus offered, arrived at an interesting estimation of Gozlan's contribution to the novel *Les Intimes*, written in collaboration with Raymond Brucker. But this did not tempt her.

It is to be hoped that Miss Loder will now be able to complete her study and round it out into a sizable and more valuable biography.

ALPHONSE R. FAVREAU

University of Michigan

*The Folktale.* By STITH THOMPSON. New York: The Dryden Press, 1946. Pp. x + 510. \$6.00.

Professor Thompson's study of the traditional prose tale is a very learned work. He is our leading American scholar of this species of folklore, though his wide-ranging interests have included much else. He has concerned himself with translations of the Old English poets, the British poets of the nineteenth century, with world literature, and with the teaching of composition to undergraduates. He began, however, as a folklorist. His Harvard dissertation assembled *Tales of the North American Indians*, and folklore has continued to be his primary interest. He does not confine himself geographically to North America. He has had firsthand experience with the activities at Helsinki, long a leading center for folklorists, and has had contacts with Scandinavian, French, German, and English scholars, and with South American. His monumental *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* in six volumes (1932-36) has proved extremely valuable to the student of folk narratives.

The present work is one of 510 pages, with no waste wordage; and it is packed with information. Its purposes, we are told, are to present the folktale as an important art, vital to the race and underlying all literary narrative forms; to acquaint the reader with most of the great folktales of the world, not only for their own interest as stories, but also as important elements of culture; and to indicate the goals of the student of the narratives and methods by which he works. How does the author go about attaining these objects? Basically, the treatment is historical. Professor Thompson deals with definition of terms, with the origins of folktales, with evaluating the theories of scholars, with masses of material already assembled or needing assemblage and methods of assembling them, and he touches on unsolved problems, desirable undertakings, and future possibilities.

After stressing the universality of the folktale as a primitive and perhaps the earliest form of narrative and the varied shapes it may assume, he devotes many pages to a pretty exhaustive compendium of the world's well-known folktales. There are sections summarizing the leading tales of ancient Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, the



classical world, medieval Europe, Ireland, Indonesia, and Africa. This record of those classified by him as "complex tales" is given most pages in the content of the book. Included under the classification "simple tales" are jests, anecdotes, animal and formula tales, legends, and traditions. Turning next to examination of the folktale as primitive, he lingers in detail on the North American Indian folktales. These consist chiefly of creation myths, the "trickster" cycle, test and hero tales, and those of journeys to other worlds, and of animal wives and husbands. The last 150 pages are directed toward guidance of those studying the folktale today. Here are sketched chronologically the leading views of the folktale hitherto brought forward and their proponents. There follows practical discussion of the gathering of tales, their classification, and illustrative life histories. International organizations for the study of folklore are listed. The author closes with a reminder that the folktale is a living art, for it is the narrative form still used by the majority of human beings. Appendixes supply a bibliography and enumerate the principal existent collections of folktales. Helpful also is an index of types and motifs.

Professor Thompson's book should have wide use, though it is not easy reading. He utilizes his space too rigorously for casual comprehension. But it is a mine of information. It comes from a scholar with profound knowledge of his subject, and it has unmistakable value for present-day folklorists, whether trained workers or amateurs.

LOUISE POUND

*University of Nebraska*

*The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604-1755.* By DE WITT T. STARNES and GERTRUDE E. NOYES. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. 299. 16 facsimiles. \$3.50.

To this reviewer, who has been over much of the material treated in this newest survey of English dictionaries without attempting detailed study of it, the accomplishment of the authors, Dr. Starnes and Dr. Noyes, seems important and very satisfying. The two collaborators have been working with the old dictionaries for a decade, at least, and have paved the way with nearly a dozen previously published studies of various dictionaries and their compilers, finally summing up their findings in a series of chapters that move in a businesslike manner from the earliest all-English dictionary of 1604 to the very year of Johnson's great contribution, which they wisely refrain from attempting to cover in this present survey. Perhaps I may be pardoned if I express rather strongly my personal pleasure and satisfaction in reading this detailed account of the old books, for I went over a good deal of the ground a quarter-century ago in an effort to record in my general *Bibliography* the dictionaries that

are comprised in this book, and I believe that I can appreciate as few other readers can the energy and industry and careful thoughtfulness that have been expended in the preparation of this survey.

For each chapter the authors have examined copies of the dictionaries involved and have presented in some detail the evidence for their conclusions as to the manner in which the early lexicographer gathered his material, from what preceding dictionaries he borrowed, what innovations he offered, and how far he managed to advance the art of dictionary-making. Various surveys of English lexicography have been published hitherto, each one adding somewhat to the understanding of the subject, but in most instances the lexicographical historian has based his conclusions on the copies that he happened to have available. It is difficult to get together the numerous dictionaries that one needs to make such detailed comparisons as are given in the Starnes and Noyes survey, and for that reason earlier commentators have missed some points now brought out in this book. For instance, the little dictionaries of B. N. Defoe (1735), of J. Sparrow (1739), of James Manlove (1741), and of an anonymous author (1737) are upon close examination found to be identical (Chapter XVIII), a conclusion likely to escape one who has to inspect the books in widely separated libraries. The indebtedness of many of the makers of these early English dictionaries to the earlier bilingual works, such as Skinner's *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanae* (1671), is emphasized by various brief comparisons and comments, and realization of the almost universal borrowing by each compiler from the works of his predecessors is one of the most obvious results of this survey. Indeed, it is at last possible to follow in much interesting detail the development of our English dictionary from Cawdrey's little *Table Alphabeticall* through Bullokar, Cockeram, Blount, and various others to the more impressive works of Bailey, Kersey, and Dyce. On the whole, the numerous parallel lists of definitions show pretty conclusively that each man took a great part of his material from some other earlier dictionary compiler. In a few cases one is inclined to wonder whether the apparent borrowing of a definition may not be in reality mere coincidence due to the fact, known to anyone who studies comparatively the definitions in present-day dictionaries, that it is not easy to vary the language needed to define a certain word. The camels which in Bailey's dictionary (1721) had "2 bunches on their backs," carried "burthens," and went a long time without food, in the current dictionaries have *humps*, carry *burdens*, and go a long time without *water*, and within the limits of our knowledge of the animal still have to be defined in pretty much the same terms. In other words, there is not much chance for originality in the making of a dictionary definition if one keeps to the known facts. But from Cawdrey's slight book down to Johnson's large folio, almost every compiler introduced some new feature to keep the public buying dictionaries, offering etymologies, accent marking, vowel marking, hard words, common words, etc. It is to be hoped that the authors of this very instructive survey will follow up their numerous comments on the influence of the early Latin dictionaries by a care-

ful examination of the many "hothouse" words, as I have termed them in a study of Blount's *Glossographia* made a few years ago, to determine whether some of the Latinate words that seem to be found only in these little dictionaries ever had any real existence in English outside of these books. I have long suspected them of being merely the creations of the Latinists of that early period.

One very interesting and useful feature of the book is the census of dictionaries found in libraries in the United States, and perhaps the most interesting thing that I have found in inspecting the census is the evidence of widespread ownership of these early books in this country. Most of the copies that I used twenty-five years ago were at Yale and Harvard or in England at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. Now there are copies in libraries which either did not own them at that time or which had not given them much publicity. It might be worth while for the authors of this census to carry it farther, perhaps largely as a matter of curiosity, and list other copies that will doubtless be brought to their attention by readers of the book. Other students of the history of the English language will no doubt have occasion to look into some of these dictionaries, seeking information on the development of our language during this period of a hundred and fifty years which is still far too little studied by the linguistic historian. There are undoubtedly further copies available on the Pacific Coast, as well as in other parts of the country, either in libraries or in private hands. It would be helpful to know about them.

The information offered throughout the book about the lexicographers is an important element in the body of material that has been assembled by the authors. In the face of so much evidence of borrowing by most of the dictionary-makers of this period, Edward Phillips, nephew of John Milton, who was so bitterly arraigned by Thomas Blount for plagiarism and errors, seems a slightly less reprehensible person than most of us have been wont to consider him. The arguments for believing that J.K. on the title page of the 1702 *New English Dictionary* was the John Kersey who reëdited Phillips' dictionary and later brought out his own *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* seem to strengthen this interpretation of the initials J.K., particularly since the arguments presume a career in general similar to that of the nineteenth-century lexicographer, Joseph E. Worcester. Certainly it does not seem likely that two lexicographers with the initials J.K. would have published at the same time and not have attempted to identify themselves, unless, as the authors of this study have argued elsewhere with reference to the little trade dictionary first signed by B. N. Defoe, the initials of the well-known John Kersey were used by the publishers to further the sale of their little book. The practices of the London publishers and booksellers have been sufficiently stressed in this survey, and elsewhere by others writing on the subject, to make one somewhat suspicious of various ascriptions of authorship, such as that of James Manlove and J. Sparrow, and even the mathematician-lexicographer-calligrapher, Edward Cocker.

The question of authorship of some of these dictionaries has been complicated, moreover, by some ill-founded conjectures of earlier owners of the books. For example, my own copy of the second edition (1719) of the *Glossographia Anglicana Nova* has been erroneously labeled "Blunt's Dictionary" by an early binder, whereas the same book in the Stanford University library has "Baxter's Dictionary of Hard Words" on the back of the old cover. It is possible that William Baxter was involved in the editing of this anonymous work, although his main work of this kind seems to have been the *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, published in the same year as this second edition of the *Glossographia*. Even in the catalogues of the libraries of Harvard and the British Museum a few early entries are open to question still.

It is satisfying to find certain questions answered here, or at least on the way to solution, which troubled me a quarter-century ago when I wandered from library to library trying to get complete lists of the editions and reprints of these various dictionaries. It is quite possible that there will be forthcoming from owners of Bailey dictionaries further information which will either prove that there were more editions of the Scott-Bailey *New Universal English Dictionary*, as I have indicated in my general *Bibliography*, or else that those 1775 and 1776 editions were merely reprints of the original supplementary volume of Bailey's dictionary (1st ed. 1727). It is not likely that all questions of dating will ever be completely cleared up, since early publishers of dictionaries seem to have done just about as modern ones do, namely, reprint from time to time with little more change than a new dating or slight rewording on the title page.

One is able to gain by means of this survey of the early period of English lexicography a very clear conception of the beginnings and gradual shaping of the dictionary as we know it today, and that, added to a better understanding of the ways of both publishers and dictionary-makers which results from a reading of this book, makes it a valuable contribution to the history of English philology.

ARTHUR G. KENNEDY

Stanford University

*Adventures by Sea of Edward Coxere. A Relation of the Several Adventures by Sea with the Dangers, Difficulties and Hardships I Met for Several Years As also the Deliverances which I have Cause to Give The Glory to God Forever.* Foreword by H. M. TOMLINSON. Edited by E. H. W. MEYERSTEIN. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xxxviii + 190. \$2.50.

The seafaring life of Cromwellian and Stuart days as experienced on the level of the sailor himself receives a notable addition from the pages of this diary now published from the manuscript for the first time. It takes its place, not in competition with, but as a complement to the *Diary* of Chaplain Henry Teonge (Broadway Travellers,

1927) and the *Three Sea Journals of Stuart Times* (London, 1936). It ties up more closely, however, with *The Fighting Sailor turn'd Christian* by the Quaker seaman Thomas Lurting (London, 1709), whose quaint feat of releasing his Moorish captives to their own soil aroused the curiosity of Charles II. The king is said to have smiled at Lurting's reply that he "thought it better for them to be in their own country." It is of interest to know that both Lurting and Coxere once sailed together on the same voyage, and that each had to face in his own time the same dilemma of adjusting his duties as gunner to the commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

Coxere stands out clearly as an individual to be respected, for through all the vagaries of fortune that beset him he always made the best of a situation, and ever showed up at his most resourceful when danger threatened its worst. He seems to have won the favor of all the masters he served under, whatever their nationality, though he was hard pushed at times to put up with what he called their "whimsies." He had a curious though honest sense of loyalty, which expressed itself as obedience to the exigencies of the moment. When captured by the Dutch, he turned the guns of the ship on his English pursuers; when taken by the latter, he aimed his shot at the Dutch. He fought in Spanish ships against the French, and again with the Hollanders against the English. As prisoner of the Turks he "fought against all Christendom." Released from slavery at Tunis, he manned English guns against the Spaniards. All of these combat episodes, it must be remembered, took place, not in the service of the Royal Navy, but as incidents in his career as merchant adventurer, whereby he sought to provide for his growing family whether by the sale of loot or by legitimate trading.

It was on one of his visits home (probably in 1659) that he attended a debate between a priest and a Quaker. Being convinced that the latter had the better of the argument, he felt his mind incline towards the tenets of Quakerism. From then on, in addition to dodging the press gang, he had the law at his heels, which only too frequently caught up with him and handed him over to the gaoler. In quiet intervals, however, he managed to carry on his trading ventures at sea, though as a sailor he was less of an asset than heretofore when it came to fighting off the ever-waiting privateer. And, on the whole, his luck and his thrift stood by him pretty well. The last trip he mentions was made to Flushing in 1681. Three years later he was again arrested for refusing to take the oath and was confined in Dover town prison, where he lay "one and fifty weeks, sometime not without the door in two or three months together." With these words he brings his diary to a close. He died in 1694.

The style of the diary, with its earthy, colloquial speech and its soft undertone of humor natural to a much buffeted man, well befits the dogged, resolute character of this Kentish sailor, and gives a good sample of English as it was spoken in the seventeenth century. His own pen sketches of the clumsy, high-pooped ships of the period reveal an unusual talent for illustration. It remains to call attention to the delightful Foreword by that modern master of travel writing,

H. M. Tomlinson, and to the scholarly Introduction, Notes, and editing of E. H. W. Meyerstein.

EDWARD G. COX

University of Washington

*Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild.* Edited by CHARLES T. PROUTY. Columbia: The University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XXI, No. 1, 1946. Pp. 191. \$2.00.

The essays published in honor of Professor Fairchild are a credit to him, the editor, and the contributors. There are twelve essays in all, mostly in the field of Elizabethan literature, but ranging for subject matter from liturgical drama to the modern American novel. Giles E. Dawson discusses the rights of publishers in the collected dramatic works of Shakespeare from 1623 until 1774, throwing considerable light on the workings of the Stationers' Company and, later, on the monopolistic methods of the Tonson firm. James G. McManaway presents new typographical and other evidence to demonstrate that Act III, Scene I, of *2 Henry IV*, containing matter politically touchy in 1600, was set up in Simmes's shop a short time after the publication of the first issue of the quarto and included in the second issue, possibly at the suggestion of the author or actors of the play. Harry R. Hoppe examines the text of *John of Bordeaux* in order to throw light on the provenance of such manuscripts as underlie the "bad quartos" of Elizabethan plays. All three articles are written with the infinite patience and fidelity to detail characterizing the new scientific bibliography. Hyder E. Rollins' brief article on the printed texts of Keats's sonnets on the Elgin marbles and the authorship of the earliest review of the *Poems*, 1817, is similarly objective and convincing.

One of the items, Edward H. Weatherly's investigation of the relations between canny David Garrick and dangerous Charles Churchill, is in the field of literary biography, and a number more are in the field of literary history. Hardin Craig writes on the evolution of liturgical drama, with particular reference to the *Benedictbevern Passion Play*, incidentally scolding that indubitably numerous company of persons less erudite than the late Karl Young. One may sympathize at once with Professor Craig's irritation and with those who have provoked it. Charles T. Prouty compares Whetstone's *Rinaldo and Giletta* and Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis* with *Adventures of Master F. J.* to illustrate how Gascoigne's successors and imitators in fiction sacrificed story interest to *preciosité*. Charles F. Mullett gives an interesting account of the writings of portentous Hugh Plat, that almost hysterically inventive Elizabethan who suggested with equal enthusiasm methods for eliminating famine and for distilling rose water. In his readiness to essay singlehanded the conquest of the physical world, Plat epitomizes one aspect of his age, and Professor Mullett refuses to dismiss him simply as quaint.



There is quaintness to spare in Alfred Westfall's review of Baconian theories. Those who think they are Napoleon and those who think they have discovered the true author of Shakespeare's plays are traditionally considered more amusing than other persons of unsound mind; the reviewer humbly demurs.

The remaining contributions are critical. John Robert Moore writes on the character of Iago and decides that the ubiquitous ensign is pretty much of a "gold-bricker." The critic is certainly justified in taking issue with those who tend to glorify Iago, but one may suggest that the question raised by the play is not whether Iago is an unsatisfactory sort of fellow but whether he is an unsatisfactory sort of villain. Perhaps he belongs in a comedy. Another question is raised by R. C. Bald's inquiry into the validity of Lamb's appreciations of Elizabethan drama. After citing a scene from Rowley's *A New Wonder: A Woman Never Vext*, which Lamb found especially affecting, Bald says, "The modern reader obtains no particularly vivid impression of Foster's distress, and at best finds in the incident of the almsbasket an interesting illustration of Elizabethan social conditions." Such, alas, is the case; but where lies the fault—in the play, in Lamb, or in the modern reader? The implications are that, during the century that has intervened between Lamb and us, most of these old plays have ceased to be living drama. An admirable study of the underlying philosophy of John Steinbeck's novels forms the concluding piece. The reviewer has found Steinbeck's fiction at once engaging and repellent, and has been hesitant to allow a fondness for the natural to extend to a fondness for naturals—those dearly beloved idiots. Professor Ross puts his finger on the trouble and reveals Steinbeck's philosophical predilections to be a kind of parody of those of August Comte. If trained scholars would cast more frequently in the pool of contemporary literature, they would bring up some pretty startling fish.

University of Pennsylvania

ALFRED HARBAGE

*The Peace of the Augustans: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Literature as a Place of Rest and Refreshment.* By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. With an Introduction by SIR HERBERT GRIERSON. World's Classics Series. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xiii + 408. \$1.10.

By reissuing in the World's Classics Series this gustatory volume, first printed in 1916, the Oxford University Press has laid all people of taste under extreme obligation. I limit its proper enjoyment to people of taste, which automatically includes that urbane group of individuals who are thoroughly conversant with eighteenth-century literature, as well as those who know good wine from bad, because only such high livers can savor to the full the sumptuous fare of wit spread out in unstinted profusion. We do not have to sit down for the first course: we can begin anywhere, for even a page is a feast or at least an appetizing *ante pasta*. It is not a safe guide for begin-



ners, but for those who can discount strong prejudices and rectify pronouncements in accordance with more exact scholarship, the book is an unbroken delectation. The very sentences are a joy with their twistings and weavings in and out between their modifications and parentheses yet held true to their course until they arrive home in port.

This classic—classic in the sense perhaps of being better known by title than by content—has been before the public too long to call for a review of its contents. The quirks of the author's temperament and their effect in conditioning his biases may be gathered from Sir Herbert Grierson's Introduction. My comments will revert to the interplay between the taste buds of the tongue and those of the cortex, which serve so largely as a source for imagery.

All well-read people will easily discern in this volume the later author of that most tantalizing work, *Notes on a Cellar Book*, in its frequent resort to vintages and viands as a center of reference, whereby the connoisseur of wine reveals himself equally well as an epicure in his selections from the menu of eighteenth-century literature. Perhaps, too, his constant preference for those works that purvey "rest and refreshment," a phrase that in its repetition maintains like a pedal point its control over the intricate harmonies and nuances of appraisal and denunciation, illustration and allusion, is to be associated with the easy chair and a glass of Falernian (which I have never tasted) or Frascati (which I have) at his elbow. With this in mind one can appreciate more sensitively his *obiter dicta* that "Shaftesbury . . . is thin and acid reading," or "Of the good strong ale and generous port, and subtly-flavoured claret, and wisdom-giving amontillado, and inspiring champagne, and ineffable burgundy of Fielding and Scott and Miss Austen and Dickens and Thackeray . . . one can never have too much. But Sterne is not a drink or a wine either of barley or grape—he is a liqueur—agreeable but not perhaps exactly wholesome, artistic, but certainly artificial. And it is only a yokel who wants kümmel or goldwasser or curaçao 'in a moog.'" At times he stretches our forbearance a little far by tacitly assuming that more benighted folk can distinguish between "a perfectly succeeded bottle of Lafite" and one of Clos Vougeot, which we are more likely to take as names of some foreign make of automobile. His exacting *goût* also requires that a poetic sensibility exhibit a parallel sensibility in the choice of fish. How could poor Cowper elect to "celebrate a halibut in verse, when there was salmon, trout, turbot, brill, John Dory, mullet, whiting, sole, herring, flounder, sprats," or "other worthy if second rate fish" like plaice and bass and skate (Lord forbid!) and gurnet? But "to eat and to celebrate in verse a thing which is at best a cooked cotton counterpane, is shocking." Cowper had one redeeming feature, however; he enjoyed good wine. One must conclude that Evangelicals could be worse, likewise the Victorians. Now it must be clear what I mean by affirming that this volume can be enjoyed only by people of taste.

EDWARD G. COX

University of Washington

*Keats and the Daemon King.* By WERNER W. BEYER. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 414. \$4.00.

Had Lockhart of *Blackwood's* been as honest as Dogberry, he might now be immortalized as a critic of serious dimensions. Being merely as stupid, however, he was content to enter the name of Wieland on the blotter opposite that of the Cockney upstart. There, except for an occasional question from Sir Sidney Colvin, it has remained without a hearing until the present. Professor Beyer has pursued the entry in the Keats case and has turned up with enough evidence for a grand jury.

In the first place, Beyer establishes beyond doubt Keats's acquaintance as early as 1815 with Wieland's *Oberon* in the Sotheby translation. He reads the verses of Keats and Mathews in the sequence worked out by John Middleton Murry and demonstrates by parallel imagery that the two young men had delved into *Oberon* and were sharing their delight in the discovery. Thus Beyer confirms Colvin's guess that Shakespeare's *Oberon* was supplemented by Wieland's in the "Shell" verses. Following Keats's mind into his poetry of 1816, Beyer finds abundant proof of an imaginative coalescence between the symbolism of *Oberon* and the transcendentalism of Wordsworth. It is more than a simple transference of *Oberon's* "Shapes of the viewless world" to Keats's "Shapes of the invisible world" in *I Stood Tip-toe*, or than a host of such echoes that are produced in the study. It is the identification of the poet with Wieland's characters; Keats becomes himself philosophical hermit, knight errant, rapturous lady, voluptuous siren. It is, further, the deep sympathy of the artist with the spirit of man, a point which Beyer makes clear without despising the pedantry on which such an interpretation necessarily rests.

Having established Keats's early acquaintance with *Oberon* and the lasting impression which the poem made on the poet's mind, Beyer moves into *Endymion*, *St. Agnes*, *Lamia*, and the odes. Here, the architectonics are explored with *Oberon* as Baedeker. The always unsatisfactory conclusion of *Endymion*, in which a vital youngster gets himself to a hermitage, when held up by Beyer to the mirror of *Oberon*, becomes a romantic equivalent of the *Paradiso*, reaching far back into the mysticism of the *Symposium*. Similarly, the "baleful" *Lamia*, with the gentle demonology of *Oberon* in mind, becomes a "lovely elemental creature of passion . . . an elfin being . . . and a 'real woman'" quite unlike her Burtonian prototype. Most colorful and thoroughly charming is the light cast on *The Eve of St. Agnes*. Not only its setting and circumstances, but particularly its insistent overtones of orientalism and demonology are "explained" by *Oberon*, although Beyer has the detachment to see that the dominant tones are unique.

In form, the book is distracting. The preface is tedious and sophomoric. The argument throughout is attenuated by rhetorical enthusiasm. Much sound evidence is thrown into a series of appendixes. Nero Wolfe himself is needed to find the notes.

But it is a sweet disorder, for substantially the volume is one of the great contributions to the study of Keats. It is hoped that Professor Beyer's achievement will encourage others to undertake the reconstruction of Keats's milieu, penetrating especially those factors in experimental science and moral philosophy against which he rebelled. What, for instance, happened between Young's

Virtue is Beauty . . .

'Tis all of heaven that we below may view

and the last lines of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn*?<sup>1</sup> Wieland's *Oberon*, for one thing. One should not forget the tribute Professor Beyer makes to Lowes' *Road to Xanadu*, which, with Prescott's *Poetic Mind*, continues to guide the novice in exploring the creative imagination.

HENRY PETTIT

University of Colorado

*Vsevolod Garshin: A Study of a Russian Conscience.* By FAN PARKER. New York: King's Crown Press, 1946. Pp. vi + 86. \$1.75.

This is the first critical study in English of Vsevolod Garshin (1855-1888), a talented Russian short-story writer. Although he wrote in all some twenty stories, including "A Very Short Novel," "The Red Flower," "The Coward," "An Event," "Attalea Princeps," and "Night," his fame rests largely upon his war stories, especially "Four Days" (1877), which depicts an episode in the Russo-Turkish War, in which Garshin served as a volunteer. The sensation produced by the publication of this work was excelled only by the appearance of Leo Tolstoy's *Sevastopol* (1855) during the Crimean War.

In addition to brief chapters on Garshin the man, his compassion and sense of justice, and his craftsmanship, Mrs. Parker has devoted thirty-one pages to the comparison of Garshin with Andersen, Turgenyev, Dostoyevsky, and Tolstoy. Why not also compare him with Andreyev and Gorky, especially the latter, with whom he has a great deal in common? For, like Gorky, he also "hated evil but loved people: he fought evil but was merciful towards people" (p. 34). Like most of the members of the Russian intelligentsia, Garshin reflected the views and ideals of the great Russian writers of the nineteenth century, and his works therefore lend themselves to a comparison with almost all of them.

Within the scope of this brief work, however, it seems that considerable space, perhaps a disproportionate amount, has been devoted

<sup>1</sup> Since this got in, I should add that the lines are from *The Force of Religion* and that a similar instance of rebellious parallelism exists between the *Ode to a Nightingale* and the opening of Young's *Night the Third*.

to comparisons between Garshin and other writers rather than to a study of Garshin himself. The impression is given, in spite of the exhaustive bibliography, that Garshin did not produce enough to warrant a book primarily concerned with him and his work.

Mrs. Parker's main contribution in this study is the portrait of a typical representative of the Russian intelligentsia of the nineteenth century, about whom so little is known outside of Russia, especially in the English-speaking world. Although he was not a literary critic, Garshin belongs to that group of Russians, including Pisarev, Belinsky, Tchernyshevsky, and Dobrolyubov, who are conscience-stricken over the plight of the masses of the Russian people and of humanity in general. Unlike many of his predecessors and contemporaries, however, who in their despair advocated violence or revolution, Garshin, in his helplessness, verged on insanity and spent his time interceding with the authorities in behalf of individual victims. In this study Mrs. Parker has admirably portrayed the tragedy of his dilemma.

Although the author provides a comprehensive bibliography on Garshin, she has not included Korolenko's article, published in *A History of Russian Literature in the 19th Century* (in Russian), edited by D. N. Ovsianiko-Kulikovsky, Vol. IV (Moscow, 1910), pp. 335-61. In any future edition of this study, Mrs. Parker would do well to include a list of Garshin's works, and, in spite of the limited scope of the study, an index.

IVAR SPECTOR

University of Washington

*Erasmus: Speculum Scientiarum*. International Bulletin of Contemporary Scholarship. Volume I, Number 1, 1947. Pp. 32. Les Editions du Panthéon S.A.; Amsterdam-Bruxelles-Anvers. Published fortnightly. Yearly subscription, 56s. or \$12.00.

*Erasmus* is published under the auspices of such illustrious people as Benedetto Croce, Gilbert Murray, C. G. Jung, Nicholas Murray Butler, John Dewey, and Christopher Dawson. On its editorial committee are the President, Carl J. Burckhart, and the Honorary Members: S. de Madariaga, the Vice President, H. R. Hoetink, and others. This international bulletin deserves profound appreciation and encouragement. It promises to be a really international periodical, eminently worthy of the renowned humanist whose name it bears. Already its first number proves that this scholarly organ inherits and enriches the valuable tradition of the French *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, the Swedish *Litteris*, and the German *Literaturzeitung*.

The foundation of such a world-wide "speculum scientiarum" has been an urgent desire of scholars, writers, and politicians. It is indeed

a symbol of our inmost need to gather together again the threads of our shattered cultural life, and to build up a new international consciousness. The resources of such a renaissance are rich, but national barriers have often impeded a fruitful interchange of ideas and, above all, a practical coöperation among scholars and specialists from various countries.

It is therefore a happy thought of the Committee to further this precious spirit of intellectual inter-relationship by (a) handing the review of works, wherever possible, to scholars of nationality different from the author's; (b) especially incorporating hitherto unknown works in Latin America, Soviet Russia, etc., in the scheme; (c) publishing the reviews in the three internationally recognized languages (English, French, German); (d) appealing to the peace-bringing genius of mankind: "May it [the periodical] favour the dawning of a broad and salutary *sensus communis* among the scholars of the different countries, for this is the primordial condition for the pacification of minds."

The standard of this fine venture is high. Its contents are varied and suggestive. In the present number the following sections are represented: religion, mythology, philosophy, psychology, philology, literature, history, archeology, history of art, economics, sociology.

Our warmest wishes accompany this bulletin which should be in every library of rank, and which is a bright light illuminating the darkness of our time.

A. CLOSS

University of Bristol

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- No. 5: Marckwardt, Albert H. *Characterization in Chaucer's Knight's Tale*. Pp. 23. \$0.50.
- No. 6: McClennen, Joshua. *On the Meaning and Function of Allegory in the English Renaissance*. Pp. 38. \$0.75.
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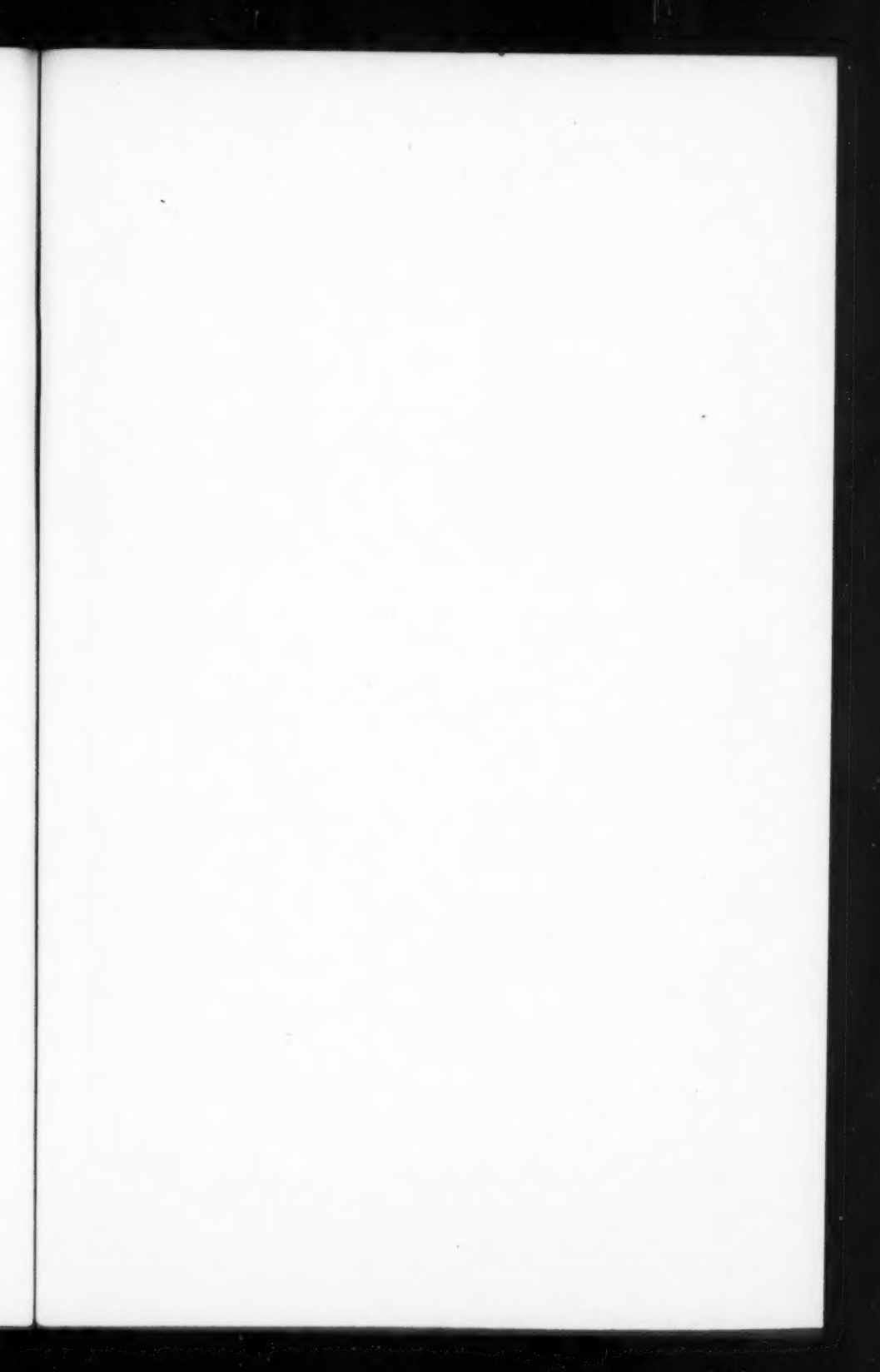
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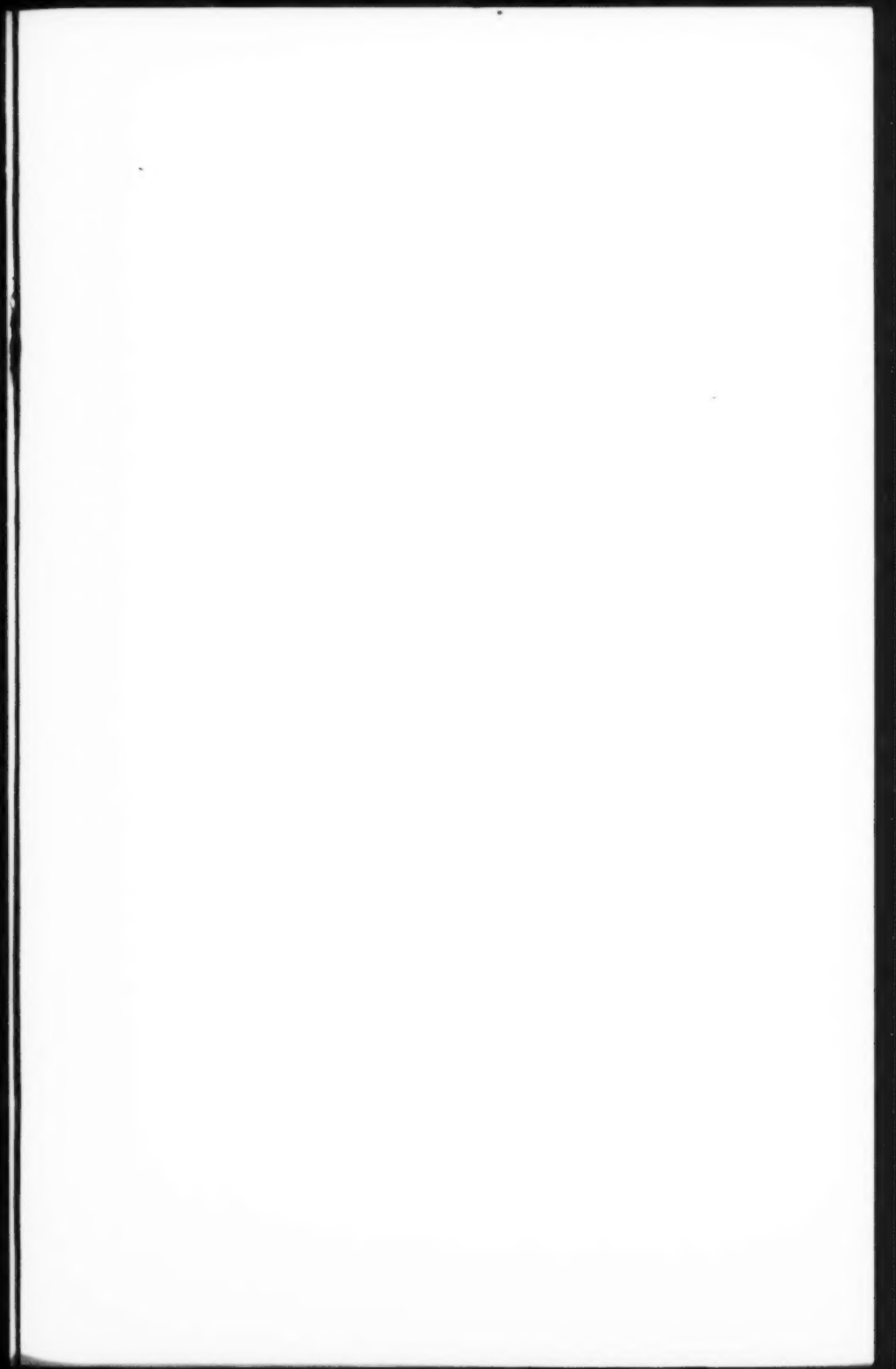
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